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WILLIAM H. HATCH

HIS GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO AGRICULTURE

BY F. B. MUMFORD

Missouri men have rendered notable service in national affairs, and many have left enduring monuments through their wise foresight and vision. Among the statesmen who have contributed most to the public welfare, the name of Colonel William Henry Hatch must be placed very high in the hall of fame. The brief biographies of William Henry Hatch have in most cases entirely ignored the one great public service for which his name will be forever honored and as a result of which unnumbered generations of people will benefit from his public work. His biographies which appear in "The Bench and Bar in Missouri," in "The Encyclopedia and History of Missouri," and in the "History of Northeast Missouri," all emphasize the fact that he was a lawyer, a soldier, and a farmer, but not a single mention is made of the fact that he was primarily responsible for the passage of the Federal Hatch Act, which provided for continuing appropriations for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in each of the states in the United States. Because of his activity in securing the adoption of this legislation he is known throughout the United States as the "father of agricultural experiment stations."

The idea of appropriating Federal funds to the colleges of agriculture for scientific research did not originate with Mr. Hatch, but no one can read the history of the efforts in behalf of this legislation without coming to the conclusion that the adoption of this measure was due, primarily, if not entirely, to the determined, persistent and skillful efforts of Colonel William H. Hatch. A bill providing appropriations for agricultural research was first introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. C. C. Carpenter of Iowa, but this bill had very few friends and was not seriously considered by Congress.

On July 8, 1885, the Commissioner of Agriculture, Norman J. Colman of Missouri, called a conference in Washington of all the administrative officers of the colleges of agriculture of the United States. This conference was for the express purpose of considering the broad national policy of Federal appropriations for agricultural experiment stations. The convention unanimously endorsed the principle and recommended the passage of what was known as the Cullen Bill, providing appropriations to agricultural colleges for scientific research. This bill was not enthusiastically received and was given little support in Congress.

In 1886 Colonel William H. Hatch introduced a bill in the House of Representatives which had for its purpose the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges of agriculture. This bill was referred to the Committee on Agriculture, of which Mr. Hatch was chairman, and after unusual efforts and long-continued activity the bill was favorably reported on March 3, 1886, and was passed by Congress and approved by President Cleveland March 2, 1887.

The principle embodied in this act, providing direct appropriations for agricultural research, was the first appropriation of its kind made by Congress. It was the beginning of a policy of Federal aid to agricultural education which has resulted in the upbuilding of the agricultural education system of the United States, including the more recent generous Federal appropriations to agricultural high schools and for agricultural extension.

The results of the far-sighted policy and heroic efforts of Colonel Hatch in connection with the passage of the first experiment station bill have had a profound influence upon the trend of education in the United States and upon the fundamental industry of agriculture. The establishment of agricultural experiment stations was undoubtedly fundamental to the continued success of agricultural colleges. In the beginning there was no great body of agricultural knowledge to be taught. Forty years of activity on the part of the experiment stations have developed a body of scientific



WILLIAM H. HATCH



facts upon which the whole structure of agricultural teaching, including agricultural extension, is now based.

The experiment stations have likewise had a remarkable influence upon agricultural practice. No farmer is so remote that he is not today influenced in his farm practice by the work of the agricultural experiment stations. The management of his soil, the varieties of crops grown, and the methods of feeding live stock in common use over the whole United States, are the result of the careful, scientific investigations of the agricultural experiment stations.

Colonel William Henry Hatch was born in Scott county, Kentucky, September 11, 1833, and died December 23, 1896 at Hannibal, Missouri. He was educated at Lexington, Kentucky, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar at the early age of twenty-one in the year 1854. He was a lawyer of note and was elected circuit attorney for the Sixteenth Judicial District in 1860, and was re-elected for another term. On the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Confederacy and was commissioned captain and assistant adjutant general in the Confederate Army. During the war he was assigned as assistant commissioner in charge of exchange of prisoners under Colonel Robert Ould. His work in connection with the exchange of prisoners was notable and was highly commended by his superior officers. After the surrender of General Lee he returned to Hannibal and again practiced law.

In 1878 he was elected to Congress and represented his district until 1895. During this period he won great distinction in Congress and in 1892 was a candidate for speaker.

In addition to the agricultural experiment legislation, Colonel Hatch was responsible for other important legislation for the benefit of agriculture. One of these was aimed at the tobacco trusts and through the efforts of Mr. Hatch producers of tobacco were relieved from the burden of paying a license. Mr. Hatch also fathered the bill providing for a national sanitary law for the prevention of the spread of infectious and contagious diseases of the domestic animals. He was the father of the first oleomargarine bill in Congress,

and because of his activities in connection with this bill he was given the designation, by some of his opponents, of "Bull-Butter Hatch." It was chiefly through the efforts of Colonel Hatch that the cabinet position, Secretary of Agriculture, was authorized by Congress. Because of his determined support of all agricultural legislation and his insistent and sincere friendship for farmers, he came to be known in Congress as "farmer Bill."

Mr. Hatch returned to his home at Hannibal, Missouri, in 1894, at the age of sixty-one years. He retired to his beautiful home on a farm in the environs of Hannibal. There he actively began breeding trotting horses and Jersey cattle.

Mr. Hatch was twice married, his first union being with Miss Jennie L. Smith, a native of Scott county, Kentucky. There were two children of this marriage, Llewellyn L. Hatch of New Orleans and a daughter who died in infancy. The mother died April 15, 1858, and three years later Colonel Hatch married Miss Thetis Clay Hawkins. Of this union one child, a daughter, was born, who lived on the estate at Hannibal until her death on November 15, 1923. Upon her death she bequeathed to the State of Missouri the home farm which had been developed by her father. In the words of the will "this bequest is made in order to perpetuate the name and memory of my beloved father, William H. Hatch, who devoted the greater part of his life to the advancement of agriculture." This farm has been assigned to the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri, by the State Commission empowered to accept gifts of this nature, and it is understood that it will be developed as an agricultural experiment station.

The Honorable William H. Hatch was a man of great personal force, of vigorous personality and of recognized integrity.

THE FOUNDING OF ST. CHARLES AND BLANCHETTE, ITS FOUNDER

BY BEN L. EMMONS

On the north bank of the Missouri River and within thirty miles of its confluence with the Mississippi River is situate the oldest settlement in North Missouri and the third oldest in the State of Missouri.

Much has been written of the early history of other cities, but none so neglected and forgotten as old St. Charles. Why this has been done is difficult to state. It may be the historians were unable to obtain authentic data as to its discovery and its founder. They therefore refused to delve further into the subject matter and considered the fragments of history emanating from and about the "Village of the Little Hills" to be the varnished tales of the "camp fires" of the early settlers. Nevertheless, these "tales and traditions" have been transcribed and written into the history of other settlements, and accepted as positive facts, which are no more reliable and authentic than those connected with St. Charles.

Tradition tells us it was in the fall of 1762 when the canoe of Blanchette "Chasseur" first touched the shores of the north bank of the "Rio Missouri" and he ascended the slopes and hill tops of what was to be known in the future as the City of St. Charles. It was then he met the famous Chief of the Dakotas, Bernard Guillet, the legendary founder of St. Charles. Guillet was a Frenchman, born in Marseilles. The story of Bernard Guillet may be a myth but nevertheless, it is part and parcel of the history of St. Charles transmitted from generation to generation. After parting with Guillet, Blanchette returned to his native post to collect and organize his followers and friends, and bring them to his new discovery. At that time, 1762, a change of government had taken place in the territory west of the Mississippi River. France had

ceded this territory to Spain and it was not until May, 1770, when Spain assumed control thereof. Blanchette, in 1769, in command of a flotilla of French Canadians, returned to establish the post which he called "Les Petites Cotes."

From whom he obtained authority to establish the Post and who conferred upon him the title "Commandant of the Post" at that time, in 1769, has never been ascertained. The first hut, together with the necessary Government buildings, was erected on City Block No. 20.

The above is the story of the foundation of St. Charles which has been handed down to us by our forebears. Nearly all historians state that St. Charles was founded in 1780. All concede that Louis Blanchette was its founder. Lt. Gov'n. Perez speaks of him as the "fundatory primero habitant de Sn. Carlos del Misury" (Houck 2-80).

Nevertheless, I am unable to find any documentary proofs, such as go towards proving the location of Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, except the testimony of our old settlers hereinafter referred to, that Blanchette was the actual founder of St. Charles. The first census of 1787 even fails to name Blanchette among the "Inhabitants of the Settlement of the Little Hills." The list is headed by Pedro Tibo, which would indicate under Spanish custom that he (Tibo) was the leading citizen in the community. The first appearance of Blanchette as a resident of St. Charles is in the census of 1791, which designates him as "Don Luis Blanchette."

Hence, if we must accept Blanchette as the founder of St. Charles, we must for proof refer to the traditions handed down to us as set forth above. There is no doubt what little evidence we have is rather contradictory and confusing. Although the census of 1787 fails to name Blanchette, yet we have positive proof that he cultivated land here thirteen or fourteen years prior to 1785, and also owned and lived on Block No. 20, in the town of St. Charles.

Jos. Lorain testifying before Theodore Hunt, Recorder, *Nov. 25, 1825*, on claim of "Louis Blanchet's legal Representatives" to an outlot adjoining the town of St. Charles, two arpens front by two arpens deep, states, "He has known the

lot claimed and that *forty years ago* Louis Blanchette had a barn on this out-lot which was fenced in and possessed and occupied by Louis Blanchette, who possessed and occupied the same *13 or 14 years*. (See Hunt's Minutes, Vol. 3, page 92). Lorain settled in St. Charles in 1784.

Again, John Coontz, assignee of Louis Blanchette, claiming a lot in the town of St. Charles, produced to the Board a conveyance from said Louis Blanchette to claimant dated May 20, 1789, approved by Don Manuel Perez, Lieut. Governor. (Hunt's Minutes, Vol. 4, page 212).

Auguste Chouteau, a witness for Andrew Landreville, in his claim for a lot in the Town of Saint Louis, testified as follows: "Les Petites Cotes" was established (founded) by Blanchette Chasseur, A. D. 1769, and called St. Charles in 1804." (Date of affidavit April 18, 1825, Hunt's Minutes.)

Mr. Chouteau made the first survey of the village of St. Charles in 1787, hence he ought to be a very strong authority as to date of its foundation.

Bryan's history of the Pioneer families of Missouri referring to the foundation of St. Charles, says: "The foundation of this town is shrouded in some degree of mystery, as well as romance. Widely different dates are given us as to its first settlement by equally reliable authorities and the exact date will probably never be known. Several authorities give 1780, others 1762, others again place it at 1766 and 1769. One of the two latter dates is doubtless correct and we are inclined to believe 1766 is the one." It names Blanchette Chasseur as its founder.

Rev'd. Jas. Joseph Conway, S. J., in his Centennial address at St. Charles, October 16, 1892, states, "Four years had nigh worn on since Blanchette drank and smoked with 'Bernard's braves' upon these hills and yet the pale face had not returned. But in 1769, the gleam of his paddles might be seen once again around the southern sweep of the river. He is now in command of a flotilla of French Canadians and vested with the supreme but hollow power of governor of the Territory of St. Charles, the original St. Charles County, a boundless waste, stretching east and west from the Mis-

issippi to the Pacific and away to the north as far as the Great Lakes."

A letter of Col. Benjamin Emmons, (who was well known as an authority on the history of St. Charles and its land titles) dated in 1858, and on file with the Missouri Historical Society, states, "The first settlement in the village of St. Charles was made in 1769, by Louis Blanchette, sometimes called 'Blanchette Chasseur'."

The above quotation is taken from a letter of Col. Emmons addressed to Jno. Loughborough, Surveyor General of the United States, in a dispute between the Surveyor General and the City of St. Charles, as to title to some of the vacant City lots. Col. Emmons represented the City in this controversy.

Mr. Wm. A. Lynch of St. Louis, in August, 1869, in a paper read at a meeting of the Missouri Historical Society, states: "The first settlement in St. Charles was made in 1769, just 100 years ago."

As stated in said paper, Mr. Lynch was well acquainted with Dr. Antoine Reynal and family. Dr. Reynal for many years was a resident of St. Louis. His name appears in the census of 1787 and 1791, as a physician. Dr. Reynal came to St. Charles prior to 1799 and was one of its first physicians. Mr. Lynch states he visited the Reynals in 1824. No doubt he obtained his information as to date of settlement of St. Charles from his intercourse with Dr. Reynal, whom he describes as "a gentleman of cultivated tastes, liberal education and in affluent circumstances." Mr. Lynch resided in this county for many years.

It is impossible to attempt to transcribe or relate the early history of St. Charles without some reference to the missionaries of the Catholic Church. If it had not been for these missionaries, who on their trips through the wilderness, from post to post, entered and recorded in their church records the great eventualities of life—births, marriages and deaths—little or nothing would be known of the history of these pioneer French Canadians. The history of the Church names Father Sebastian Muerin, whose remains are buried

in the Novitiate Cemetery at Florissant, Father Gibault, Father Bernard de Limpach, also known as Fr. Bernard and lastly Father Le Dru, among those who are said to have visited St. Charles and administered to the spiritual needs of the inhabitants, prior to the legal establishment of the church and parish in 1791. I set out these names for the reason that they will appear prominently in this chain of history. Prior to 1792, St. Charles had no resident pastor and was only a missionary post and hence the records of baptisms, marriages and burials were kept elsewhere. Father Muerin is said to have visited here in 1772 and the first chapel or church was erected in 1779 or 1780. The authorization and agreement to construct a log church at "Les Petites Cotes" was given by Manuel Perez, Lt. Governor, Oct. 13, 1789, and the meeting for that purpose was held in the house of Mr. Louis Blanchette, "founder of this village." The agreement is signed by thirty-one inhabitants. (The original in Wilson Primm Scrap Book, Missouri Historical Society). The legal establishment and dedication of this church at St. Charles and of St. Charles, as a village, was in 1791, as shown by the authorization transcribed in the first church records, a copy and translation of which is as follows: "This register consisting of forty-three leaves, not including this, and all numbered and marked is intended to serve for recording the burials of the village of St. Charles, parish of St. Louis, among the Illinois Province of Louisiana in the diocese of St. James of Cuba (Santiago) and under the dominion of the King of Spain. In Testimony Whereof we the Commandant, Lieutenant Governor and Judge of the same parish and its surrounding territory have given our signature at St. Charles, the 7th day of November, 1791."

Manual Perez.

Another certificate dated Nov. 7, 1791, states that Manuel Perez ordered a church to be blessed in the "Petites Cotes of Missouri," under the invocation of St. Charles." Also: "On December 7, 1789, I had a cemetery blessed in same place" and refers to the fees to be collected. These

payments are collected by Rev. P. Bernard (de Limpach) without prejudice to the rights of the cure of St. Louis, within whose jurisdiction this place is. Signed by Don Manuel Perez, Captain and Lt. Gov'n and Judge of the Civil Court of St. Louis and all its dependencies." Then follows a notice and order dated Nov. 8, 1791, and signed by Rev. P. Ledru, stating the citizens must attend church on Sunday, under penalties, and all infractions must be reported to Mr. Blanchette, to whom he has given power and who will inflict punishment.

The above proves clearly the date of the establishment and name of the church and the first recognition of Blanchette as Commandant of the Post of the village of St. Charles and further, that Manuel Perez came in person to St. Charles in 1789 and 1791 to confer these honors.

Regarding the history of Louis Blanchette, from whence he came very little is known, except he was a French Canadian, born in St. Henry's Parish, Quebec, the son of Pierre Blanchette and Marie Gensereaux. About the year 1758, or thereabouts, he entered into a common law marriage with an Indian woman, afterwards known as Angelique. Some say she was of the Pawnee nation, others an Osage.

This would indicate that Blanchette had been in this neighborhood, as a hunter and trapper, for many years prior to the foundation of St. Charles.

A possible solution of the uncertainty of the date of his location at St. Charles, may be accounted for as follows: "Notes relating to the settlement of St. Charles by Rev'd. P. J. Verhaegen, Pastor of St. Charles Borromeo's Church" on file with archives of the St. Louis University.

"From the information, which I have been able to obtain, it would seem the settlement of St. Charles was commenced shortly after what is called by the French Creoles, "*L' Annee du grand coup*" viz. 1776, when Post Vincennes was attacked, and taken by a large band of Indians, who slew a number of the inhabitants and compelled the rest to fly for safety to St. Louis, * * * * * and that the Creole families of Quenelle, Bayotte and Vivaron were among the first settlers

in "La petite Cote." (The names of above appear in census of 1787)."

"It appears Blanchette was the first Commandant of the Post and that he established the Government House on lot on which Mr. Devance Chauvin lived. The Government house consisted of three humble one-story log buildings and were still occupied for governmental purposes by Blanchette's successor in office in 1798. * * * * When the first Catholic Church was constructed cannot be exactly stated, probably about the year 1780. In 1825 I found it to be an old rickety log building." Father Verhaegen was the first actual resident pastor at St. Charles. I am inclined to believe that Father Verhaegen gave the wrong title to this event when he referred to "L' Annee du grand coup." That refers to the English and Indian attack on St. Louis in 1780.

From information set forth in the above letter we have the first direct evidence that St. Charles was founded by French-Canadians from the eastern side of the Mississippi River, and not by those from St. Louis and Cahokia, known as Creole French, and I have frequently heard this distinction made by members of old French families, here and in St. Louis, viz: that St. Charles and Portage des Sioux were founded by French-Canadians and St. Louis by the Creoles, or New Orleans French.

Of this common law alliance between Blanchette and his Indian wife, Angelique, there were born three children, viz: Pierre and Louis, who were, I believe, twins, and Marie, who afterwards married Etienne Pepin. As the births, baptisms and marriages of these persons aid us in approximating dates of the settlement of St. Charles, I will now set out the proofs, as shown by the records of the old Cathedral at St. Louis. 1st entry: "In the year 1775, the 5th day of October, I the undersigned Missionary Priest, have baptized, under conditions, two children, Pierre, Louis, sons of Louis Blanchette, Chasseur, and Tuhomenga, Osage Indian, aged 16 years. His godfather was Laurent Michou, and his godmother Catherine Mareschal, wife of Sr. Fr Moreau, of this parish."

S. J. Muerin, Priest.

From this it appears that Pierre and Louis were born in 1759, thus indicating Blanchette was in this neighborhood for years prior to 1769, and may bear out the assertion of Col. Emmons that there was a settlement here at St. Charles many years before St. Louis was founded. 2nd entry:—"The year 1788, the 28th of October, after three publications of the marriage banns, between Etienne Pepin, legitimate son of Etienne Pepin and Jeanette Maclure, his father and mother of the Parish of Quebec, of the one part and between Marie, daughter of Louis Blanchette and Angelique of "Petites Cotes," not finding any impediments affecting said marriage, I, the undersigned have received their mutual consent in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, Basil Picard, Laurent Michou, Nicolas Fail,—Chavelier."

P. Bernard (de Limpach).

I will add here, that Father Conway in his history of the church says: "Fr. Bernard de Limpach administered the little parish and neighboring stations, from 1776 to 1789. Fr. Bernard was often in Les Petites Cotes and traveled hither from St. Louis." The witnesses to said marriage were all residents of Les Petites Cotes and the certificate also names the contracting parties as residents of the same place.

The 3rd, 4th and 5th entries show a very unusual and interesting event in the life of Louis Blanchette, his marriage and the baptism of his wife and grand-child, on the same day.

3rd entry: "In the year 1790, the 13th day of October, I, the undersigned, have supplied the ceremonies of Holy Baptism to Angelique, born September 2, this year of the legitimate marriage of Etienne Pepin and Marie Blanchet, her father and mother having been baptized privately by Pierre Throge. The god-father was Pierre Blanchet, and the god-mother Marie Anne Courtois."

Ledru Mis. cure.

4th entry: "The year 1790, the 13th day of October, I, the undersigned, have baptized, Angelique, adult Indian, of

the Nation Panis Picque, about 48 years old. Her god-father was Jean Salle dit La Joie, and god-mother Marie Joseph Bayant."

Ledru Mis. cure.

5th entry: "In the year 1790, the 14th day of October were married Louis Blanchette and Angelique of the Picque Pawnee nation, they having previously lived together for a number of years. In the presence of Jean Salle dit La Joie, Gasper Roubie, Antoine Stephanellie, J. Clamorgan."

Ledru Mis. cure.

"The same day during the ceremony I have legitimated Pierre, Louis and Marie, all the children of the above."

Ledru Missionary priest.

It will be noticed, that all these events took place in the month of October. In many entries of the records, where parties were residents of St. Louis, it is stated "residents of this Parish." In none of the above do we find this designation. Therefore, I am inclined to believe the ceremonies were performed at St. Charles. I am further convinced of this because the marriage contract between Blanchette and his wife was not executed until Oct. 28, 1790, at St. Louis. This can be accounted for, as there was no notary at St. Charles, nor any one authorized under Spanish laws to approve same. It was always customary to have this done prior to the marriage ceremony. I have been unable to find the baptismal record of Marie Blanchette. I presume she was duly baptized by some missionary priest who failed to make an entry of it in St. Louis.

Angelique Blanchette died at St. Charles in 1793. The burial record of the church at St. Charles states as follows: "On Feby. 11, 1793, has been interred in the church of this parish, under the bench, the body of Angelique, Indian of the Grand Os. (Osage), wife of Sre. Louis Blanchette, Civil Commandant of the "Little Hills," by me, having died in the bosom of our Mother the Holy Church."

P. J. Didier, Mis. cure.

Blanchette survived his wife only a few months. Father Verhaegen in his notes states: "the precise date of Commandant Blanchette's death, I could not ascertain. He was highly respected and dearly beloved by the people, for having erected the first church for their use and having caused it to be renewed and enlarged three times. His grave was dug under the church floor, and his mortal remains deposited there."

It is regrettable, that the page of the burial record which contained a full account of his death and burial is missing. I fix the date of his death the latter part of August, 1793, as the inventory of his estate was made on Sept. 3, 1793.

The only archives in existence, signed by Blanchette as Commandant are, 1st: a lease drawn by Mathurin Bouvet as Notary, from Mr. Louis Blanchette, Civil Commandant of "Petite Cote," to his cousins, Francois and Jean Malbeouf, which effects sixty arpens in the Prairie Haute Fields, and forty arpens in the "Prairie Basse," owned by Blanchette, which lease is dated October 9, 1792. 2nd: An archive executed by Blanchette as Commandant, dated June 14, 1793, approving sale of live stock, made by Charles Rielle dit Clements. 3rd: An archive in which Blanchette as Commandant of the Post and seventy citizens of St. Charles, together with citizens of St. Louis, St. Ferdinand and St. Phillips, petition the King of Spain, complaining of their Chief. Dated July 7, 1793 (From files of Mo. Historical Society). This was probably his last official act before his death.

The inventory of his estate was made September 3, 1793, by authority of Mons. Charles Tayon; witnesses were Antoine Bricot and Mr. Gagnon, at the house of Mr. Blanchette. His estate consisted of one house and lot fenced in, value 1250 livres.

Barn on piece of ground, 200 livres;

1½ arpens in High Prairie, 100 livres;

1 arpen in Prairie Basse, 100 livres;

3 pair of oxen, 2 cows, 11 head of hogs, cart, plow, 5 guns, and a long list of household furniture and goods. Total value 3540 livres. This clearly shows he was an old settler

and a man of affairs in the community. From the above, and testimony of Joseph Lorain before Theodore Hunt referred to above, it is evident that for many years he was a very domesticated man. It is quite evident, with his family of three children and the large amount of personal property and chattels, that Blanchette did not lead a nomadic life.

In my investigation of land titles in St. Charles County, I discovered a peculiar state of affairs. A large number of deeds describe lots and out-lots in the old town of St. Charles, which cannot be located, and references are made to purchases which cannot be proven. What remains of the original archives of grants and concessions, show same emanate through Charles Tayon, Commandant (1793-1801) approved by Zenon Trudeau, Lt. Governor of Upper Louisiana.

I am unable to find any grants or concessions issued prior to 1792, except those referred to above, and one to Auguste Chouteau of 1787. Nevertheless, from the old deeds and archives of record I do find many recitals of possession and cultivation prior to the administration of Charles Tayon. From these investigations I have also discovered the following facts, and draw the following conclusions: The first settlement was made by French Canadians driven out of Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, during the English and Indian War, who crossed to the western bank of the Mississippi River, in order to get protection from the Spanish Government. The foundation of the town was without authority of the Governor of Louisiana, and remained unknown to the citizens of St. Louis for many years. The first location was made in the southwestern part of the town extending from Chauncey Street on the south to Jackson Street on the north, and from the Missouri River on the east to Second Street on the west. The first dwelling and government buildings were erected in Block No. 20. Here Blanchette lived and died. On Main and Jackson Streets was erected the chapel or church, opposite was the graveyard. The Main Street ran parallel with the river and was about one and one-half miles long, and with a street along the river

bank, designated a tow path, afterwards called "Water Street." There were many lots occupied along Main Street, but not all of them. On the west side of Main Street were very high hills, insurmountable, except on foot. The next settlement was at the extreme northern end of the City called the "Cul de Sac" Common Fields. Here a street (now a road) was laid out 60 feet wide, called "Rue Royal" or Royal Road of the King of Spain, later the "Kingshighway" and now known under the euphonic name of "Boschertown Road." This road leads directly to the "Royal Domains" and the "Prairie Basse" where there were evidences of early settlement. A few miles below is the "Marais Temps Clair," another settlement by the followers of Blanchette. At this place Blanchette had a claim of four hundred arpens. Strange to say, we can find no grants or concessions issued by Blanchette, only evidences of actual possession and settlement.

From 1780 and 1786, the Lt. Governor of Upper Louisiana discouraged settlement beyond the district of St. Louis and refused to issue and approve grants.

It was not until 1787 that residents of St. Louis, Cahokia and other towns and posts along the Mississippi River began to locate here. After the death of Blanchette in 1793, and with the appointment of Charles Tayon as Commandant of the Post of St. Charles, I found some order established. Surveys made, concessions and grants issued according to law and the establishment of civil government. Strange to say, that in no instance were the claims and possessions of Blanchette's followers approved, except through direct grant of Zenon Trudeau, Lt. Governor. No doubt, during this long period, prior to Blanchette's death, the original settlers suffered considerable hardships from disease, Indian raids and floods. One authority states that in 1781 there were only six dwellings here. The influx of new inhabitants continued from time to time until 1787, when we find a population of 80, including men, women and children. The first survey of the town is supposed to have been made by Auguste Chouteau in 1787. Yet we have evidence of settle-

ments made in the town, Prairie Haute Fields and the Prairie Basse, prior to the date of the Chouteau survey.

In Block No. 67, on a bluff 250 feet above the river, stood the mysterious stone fort. This fort was three stories high, thirty feet in diameter, with walls thirty inches thick. It had two entrances, one on the north and the other on the south side. Port holes around the entire building, and an opening 3x4 on the third floor overlooking the River. It is evident it was not built for a "Mill." From its size and the weight of the stone used, it must have taken many years to build it. The origin of this old building has always been a mystery, and the date of its construction unknown, but it was constructed by the first settlers many years before Blanchette's death. The lot on which it stood was granted to Francois Duquette by Zenon Trudeau, Lt. Governor, July 1, 1796, with the approval of Charles Tayon, and in August, 1797, Duquette leased the old stone fort to Jean Joffre for a windmill.

It is quite certain that it was not built during the administration of Charles Tayon, as Commandant, otherwise he would not have approved the petition and grant to Duquette. No doubt, at one time it must have been a military fort, but as to this we have no actual proof.

A careful examination of the administration of the civil government at St. Charles under Charles Tayon, indicate clearly that he did not recognize the claims of Blanchette and his followers, but proceeded at once to overthrow everything that heretofore existed. 1st, he had granted and conceded to himself the property on which the government buildings were located. 2nd. The lot occupied by Blanchette, and also all other real estate claimed by Blanchette and his children (except the sixty arpen tract in the Prairie Haute Fields) was given to Tayon's followers. 3rd. The lot on which the first church stood (in Block No. 15) he granted to Joseph Piche and Louis Chancellier thus compelling the Trustees of the Church to purchase same later on, and lastly, he abandoned the old fort to private interests.

In fact, it appears to me that Tayon attempted to wipe out every vestige of Blanchette's original settlement. That he was to a large extent successful, we must concede.

From the evidence of our oldest settlers, the old stone fort, the church records, and archives so set forth above, I believe I have established the fact that there was a settlement at St. Charles in 1769, if not prior to that date.

I have often heard my father say "That St. Charles was settled by French Canadian refugees from English dominion many years before St. Louis was founded, but historians will not concede this, as it would diminish the glory and honor bestowed on Laclede and Chouteau."

Note. Documents, archives and papers referred to are on file with the Missouri Historical Society. Copies, translations, etc., are in possession of the Emmons Abstract Company, at St. Charles.

THE OVERLAND MAIL ISSUE DURING THE FIFTIES

BY CURTIS NETTELS

As soon as the gold seekers of '49 arrived in California, they felt the need of quick communication with the regions from which they had come. At the same time, their relatives were extremely eager for immediate news of the turn that fortune was taking in the mines. Hence a demand for mails arose when the emigrants found in 1849 that no adequate postal facilities existed for their benefit. The Post Office Department met the unparalleled situation, but with only moderate success. By 1850, steamers were bringing twice a month a mail that was thirty days in transit from the Atlantic coast.¹ This service failed to satisfy the impetuous miners, and the agitation for quicker communication continued.

The idea of carrying mails overland by stage was of early origin. In 1849, a petition embodying a plan for a continental mail was recommended to the Senate by the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.² At the close of the same year, a second petitioner, William Bayard, offered to open a road to California and to carry mails over it "once a week in four-horse coaches."³ Two years later, Henry O'Reilly proposed to establish a route through "Nebraska, the Desert, California and Oregon," and to erect stockades upon it, each twenty miles apart, for the quartering of "twenty dragoons," two of whom should ride daily between posts and carry express and mails. This plan received nation-wide attention, for its author was a successful telegraph builder, and his proposals, especially for a con-

¹*Executive Documents*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, No. 17, pp. 969-73.

²*Senate Documents*, 30th Congress, 2d Session, Report 310, p. 6.

³*Miscellaneous Documents*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, No. 2; also *Reports of Committees*, 31st Congress, 2d Session, No. 95.

tinental telegraph—which constituted a part of his scheme—carried considerable weight.⁴

As soon as the idea of the overland stage was suggested, the postal feature of it became subsidiary to other interests. The Senate Committee in 1849 recognized then that here was a scheme for stimulating the movement of population into the West. The overland stage would promote emigration by establishing a safe line of travel; it would lead to the development of the resources of the West; it would bind California to the Union, socially and politically, by affording quick communication between coast and coast; its stations would become the nuclei of settlements; and, above all, it would prepare the way for the much-talked-of Pacific railroad.⁵

In the summer of 1854, it became evident to Californians that the Pierce Administration was no friend of the proposed railway, and that the advantages of a safe road of travel would have to come from another source.⁶ Thereupon, one of the leading papers of the West began a vigorous campaign for the establishment of a daily mail. Interested persons worked out the details for a private line,⁷ and planned the organization of the Missouri and Sacramento Stage company.⁸ Newspapers joined the chorus of agitators,⁹ the Pacific Emigrant Society supported the cause,¹⁰ the governor of California declared himself strongly in favor of the proposition,¹¹ and the legislature passed a resolution calling upon Congress to establish the desired line.¹² The agitation worked itself in the formidable wagon road movement which, in 1856, culminated in a monster petition signed by 75,000 Californians who

⁴*Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 32d Congress, 1st Session, No. 27, pp. 2, 10-12, 26-7.

⁵*Senate Documents*, 30th Congress, 2d Session, Report 310, pp. 1-6.

⁶*Sacramento Daily Union*, September 18, 1854.

⁷*The San Francisco Alta*, October 1854, discussed two plans originated by Dr. Wozencraft, who had worked out minutely the details for operating the line.

⁸*Sacramento Daily Union*, November 28, 1854.

⁹*The Miner's Advocate*, the *Placerville Mountain Democrat*, the *Shasta Courier*, the *Sacramento Daily Union*, the *San Francisco Alta*.

¹⁰*Sacramento Daily Union*, January 28, 1855.

¹¹*Ibid.*, January 9, 1855.

¹²*Ibid.*, February 8, 1855.

wanted a wagon road constructed over, and an overland mail placed upon, the South Pass route.¹³ So general became the movement by 1857 that Senator Gwin, a politician sensitive to the trend of public opinion, said that there was no question in which the people of California were more deeply interested than in the plan for the continental mail.¹⁴

This interest made itself felt in Congress. In the Senate, Rusk, Douglas, Benton, Weller, and Gwin championed the cause. Rusk prepared the Senate Committee report which presented the case for the overland mail in 1849. Douglas led the fight in 1852.¹⁵ Benton, in March, 1855, managed to have attached to the general post roads bill a clause calling for a direct mail route between St. Louis and San Francisco, "by the mouth of Huerfano and the Little Salt Lake to Stockton on the San Joaquin." He had his eye on the Pacific railroad, which he thought he was about to establish on his central route. The overland mail, he said, "will give the Central route a development, a notoriety, and a prominence which will protect its character and bear down all opposition.

* * * The post route and the branches are a skeleton of the future railroad."¹⁶ Weller of California made three attempts in 1855 to get a bill through, and in 1856 presented the monster wagon road petition and introduced overland mail and wagon road bills.¹⁷ Gwin supported these measures, and fathered one of his own.¹⁸

In Missouri and other Western border states, the agitation paralleled that of the Coast. "We have experienced for years," declared a prominent Missourian in 1858, "the difficulties of communicating with our brethren on the shores of the Pacific, and for ten years have been striving for means which would obviate those difficulties and bring us in closer contact."¹⁹ The development of the Western states seemed

¹³*Sacramento Daily Union*, October 16, 1858.

¹⁴*Globe*, 34th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 307.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 32d Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1161, 1685, 1758-64.

¹⁶*Sacramento Daily Union*, April 16, 1855, quoting *Missouri Democrat*.

¹⁷Bills introduced February 8, May 26, December 5. Wagon road petition presented in April. *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 5, 1856.

¹⁸*Globe*, 33d Congress, 1st Session, p. 307.

¹⁹John F. Darby. See *New York Herald*, October 14, 1858.

to depend largely upon the establishment of a safe line of travel across the continent, and consequently the people of those states were friendly to a project which promised to create such a route.

During the early fifties it became apparent to Congress that the country could afford but one first class overland mail. Yet both the North and the South were eager to extend the route west from their own borders. The burning question in connection with the mail was: which section should be the favored one? The inability of Congress to answer that question frustrated the schemes proposed between 1849 and 1856.

Congress attempted to answer this question finally when it passed the Post Office Appropriation bill, March 3, 1857. This act gave the Postmaster General authority to contract for carrying the letter mail from such a point on the Mississippi as the contractors might choose to San Francisco. Frequency of deliveries was to be determined by the Postmaster General. He was not to pay more than \$300,000 a year for a semi-monthly service, or more than \$600,000 for a semi-weekly service. Each overland trip should be performed within twenty-five days. Operations were to begin a year after the signing of the contract.²⁰

This act in the main was supported in Congress by Northern and Western members, and opposed by members from the South.²¹ One of its important features is the provision authorizing the contractors to choose their own route. Congressmen from the North were willing to grant this privilege to the contractor, because they believed that the best proposals would apply to the central routes, and that open competition would demonstrate their superiority, which had been obscured in Congress for political reasons. The majority of the Representatives who voted for the overland mail thought that by so doing they were taking a step preparatory to locating the Pacific railroad on a central route.

²⁰*Globe*, 34th Congress, 3d Session, Appendix, p. 410.

²¹*Globe*, 34th Congress, 3d Session, Appendix, pp. 309-320.

But at the same time the men who engineered the bill through Congress—Senators Rusk, Gwin, and Johnson of Arkansas—were devoted to the cause of the South. In presenting their plan to the Northern House, they covered their purpose of securing a southern route with the provision granting to the contractors the right of selecting the route—a right that might be usurped by the Postmaster General, who was delegated to choose the contractors.

With the passage of this act, the matter went to Postmaster General Aaron V. Brown. Brown was a Tennessean sympathetic with Buchanan's policies, a leader in the councils of the Democrats, and a not unlikely aspirant for party leadership in the campaign of 1860.²² He called Senators Rusk and Gwin into conference, consulted with the leaders of the Administration; and by April, 1857, rumors reported that he was set upon having a southern route.²³ Immediately, the friends of the central routes, including the leading express companies and western railroads, petitioned that the mail be not placed upon a route running south of St. Louis.²⁴ But to no avail. July 2, the Postmaster General awarded the contract to John Butterfield and his associates, and forced them to accept a route starting at both St. Louis and Memphis, converging at Little Rock, and proceeding to California via El Paso, Tucson, and Fort Yuma.²⁵ The contractors protested against the "side line" thus forced upon them, and in a letter to the Department urged the adoption of a more northern route through Albuquerque.²⁶

Brown now undertook to justify his action, which seemed unlawful, and which had earned for him the hostility of the Northern press, of the contractors, and of the residents of upper California. He prepared a defensive article in which he attacked the South Pass route on the ground that snows precluded carrying mails over it during a fourth of the year.²⁷

²²New York Times, December 7, 1858, November 9, 1859.

²³Sacramento Daily Union, April 16, 1857.

²⁴Sacramento Daily Union, July 3, 1857.

²⁵Executive Documents, 35th Congress, 2d Session, No. 48, pp. 5-6.

²⁶Sacramento Daily Union, November 15, 1858.

²⁷Postmaster General's Report, Executive Documents, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 921, pp. 993-94.

The Albuquerque and the El Paso routes he compared closely in respect to climate, water supply, roads, and distance; and found the El Paso route superior in the first three respects. That the Albuquerque route was a trifle shorter he considered of no importance.²⁸

It is doubtful whether an impartial review of the geographical merits of the routes alone influenced Brown's mind. Very likely he had preferences at the start. At the outset he called in for consultation the known friends of the Southern route. In the second place, he denied the contractors their plea, which outweighed his theoretical considerations and was in accordance with the law. In the third place, Brown lived in an atmosphere of Southern aggressiveness. His chief had signed the Ostend manifesto, his party leaders had declared for a southern railroad, the preceding Administration had sent an engineer into Arizona to drill for artesian wells with the hope that some means of irrigation might be found to make that barren country attractive to settlers, and his period of political life was the period of the Central American filibusterers who aimed to add new lands to the territory under control of the South.

Brown's writings indicate that he was interested in this aggressive movement on behalf of the South. Three elements entered into his policy: the question of emigration, the problem of the Pacific railroad, and "protection against Mexico." Time and again he wrote to the effect that the overland mail would "develop not one only, but several Californias on this side of the Pacific."²⁹ "Scarcely a communication from the other side . . . has been received," remarked the *Sacramento Union*, December 1, 1858, "which did not allude . . . to the encouragement the mail route would give to settlement in Western Texas and Arizona." Perhaps the most revealing testimony that Brown was attempting to populate the Southwest is contained in a report prepared by his contractor on the San Antonio to San Diego route, pub-

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 997-1003.

²⁹Postmaster General's Report, 1858, *Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 752.

lished in his *report*, 1858, which declared that the route "was already forming the basis of a new state . . . half way between Western Texas and California."³⁰

Like all men who worked for the overland mail, Brown hoped that it would open the way for the Pacific railroad. "The Department," he wrote in 1857, "supposed Congress to be in search of a route that could be found safe . . . during every season of the year . . . for the transportation of mails . . . and for the future location of a railway to the Pacific coast."³¹

And finally, Brown saw in the Southern mail a source of protection against Mexico. "Nor should it be forgotten that the southern location of the route may serve a valuable purpose in reference to . . . Mexico. . . . In time of war it will furnish a highway for troops and munitions . . . which might enable us to vindicate our rights and preserve . . . our national honor."³²

It may not be possible to say what Brown had in mind when he made this statement. It is certain, however, that in 1858, after disturbances in Chihuahua and Sonora had threatened the safety of the mails, President Buchanan advised Congress to "assume a temporary protectorate over the northern portions of Chihuahua and Sonora and establish military posts within the same" on the ground that "a state of violence" was arresting the settlement of Arizona at a time when it was "of particular importance that a chain of settlements should extend along the Southern border sufficient for their protection and that of the United States mail."³³ This statement may be viewed as an honest proposal for the good of all parties concerned. It may also be viewed in the light which the *New York Tribune* threw upon it. "Here," said the *Tribune*, "is an excellent reason why the mail route should never have been established along the line of the Gila,

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 752.

³¹Postmaster General's Report, 1857, *Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 921, p. 997.

³²Postmaster General's Report, 1857, *Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 921, p. 1005.

³³Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 5, p. 514.

and abundant reason too for its removal to the every way shorter, safer, and more expeditious route of the thirty-fifth parallel. Instead of recommending that, the President advises Congress to seize Chihuahua and Sonora. Can anyone doubt that the President, when insisting so strenuously upon . . . the Gila route, had this very piece of plunder in view?"³⁴

This conclusion respecting the motive that determined the choice of the Southern route is unavoidable: that although the leaders of the Buchanan Administration may have had faith in the natural desirability of their route, they were vitally influenced by things that extended beyond the overland mail: settlement, a railroad, protection against Mexico. Why? Were they trying to populate the Southwest by reason of their regard for the welfare of the emigrants? Did they have any views regarding the political complexion that might characterize the "new Californias" that were to spring up along the route? And were they ignorant of the fact that the establishment of a well-protected postal and emigrant road through the Southwest would act as a deterrent to emigration into the Northwest, where no such advantages existed to aid the settler?

At the beginning of the Southern mail in October, 1858, most of the people of the West received it with interest and supported it with enthusiasm. En route the first stages met noisy demonstrations at frontier towns. "News that the Memphis and St. Louis stages had arrived [at Fort Smith] spread like wild-fire. Horns were blown, houses were lit up, and many flocked to the hotel . . . to talk over the exciting topic and to take a peep at the mail bags."^{34a} "The event of Butterfield's success has thrown the people of California in a perfect ecstasy of joy, and they augur from it the most important benefits for their state."³⁵ San Francisco indulged in a "monster meeting" that brought forth speeches,

³⁴Editorial, December 8, 1858.

^{34a}Waterson L. Ormsby, in *New York Herald*, October 24, 1858.

³⁵*New York Herald*, editorial, November 18, 1858.

resolutions, fire-works, and a great celebration in general.³⁶ Clearly the people of Southern California thought that the opening of the fast mail line was an event that ranked with the discovery of gold.

The people of Northern California who wanted the service established on the South Pass route greeted the first stages less cordially. The Southern mail, according to the *Sacramento Union*, was "a foul wrong," "an outrage upon the majority of the people of the state," "a Panama route by land," "an overland route to Mexico, a military road to Texas, and an immigrant route to Arizona."³⁷ In the East and North the same view prevailed. The New York press in derision labelled it the "horseshoe," the "side line," the "ox-bow route." "One of the greatest swindles ever perpetrated upon the country by the slave-holders,"³⁸ "a preposterous proposition," "a drain upon the treasury," "this monstrous business of the overland mail"³⁹—such were the abusive terms which the Northern press applied to the product of Brown's policy.

Eight years before the Southern route was established, the beginnings of a mail service had been made on the South Pass route. A considerable stream of emigrants had swept westward along this route between 1840 and 1850. These settlers were interested in the overland mail and naturally urged that it be placed upon a route accessible to them. A series of contracts during the period 1850-1857 aimed to provide for their postal needs by effecting a monthly mail between Missouri and California, via Salt Lake City. Deliveries on this route were often interrupted, so that prior to 1857, this service did not in any sense constitute a real overland mail. During the period of agitation nobody in California considered this once-a-month service as anything approaching the fast stage-coach mail which the whole state desired to secure.

³⁶Ormsby, *ibid.*, November 18, 1858.

³⁷November 2, 1858, October 14, 1858.

³⁸*Chicago Tribune*, July 4, 1861.

³⁹*New York Times*, January 15, 1858. Cf. *St. Louis Democrat*, June 18, 1859, *Baltimore Sun*, August 23, 1859, *New York Tribune*, December 8, 1858.

Nor did the agitation subside with the passage of the act of March 3, 1857. As soon as rumors reached California indicating that the Administration had its eye on a southern mail the supporters of the South Pass route began vigorously to assert its claims. Prior to 1857 the agitation had been general—without bitter emphasis upon particular routes. The choice of the southern road in July, 1857, split Californians into two groups: those satisfied with the decision, and those who demanded that the fast mail go by way of the South Pass. At first the movement in favor of the northern route was not strong. In April the California legislature refused to consider a resolution protesting against the impending action of Postmaster General Brown.⁴⁰ A month later, the *Sacramento Union* complained that "no imposing movements" had been made against the Southern route.⁴¹ The *Union* itself, however, hammered away almost daily upon the point that an overland mail on a southern route could not stimulate emigration to California, and that therefore the chief benefits of the institution would be lost if the mail were sent through the deserts of the Southwest.⁴² In the summer, interest in the South Pass route spread throughout Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri.⁴³ The press took up the issue and discussed it continually until the neglected route obtained favorable recognition.

In April, 1858, the Postmaster General entered into two new contracts applying to the South Pass route. The first, with George Chorpenning, provided for semi-monthly, twenty-day trips between Salt Lake City and Placerville; the second, awarded to John M. Hockaday, called for a weekly service between Salt Lake City and the Missouri river. The purpose of the Postmaster General in letting the Hockaday contract was not to establish a fast mail on the South Pass route, but to connect closely the troops in Utah with the War Department.⁴⁴

⁴⁰*Sacramento Daily Union*, May 2, 1857.

⁴¹May 19, 1857.

⁴²March-October, 1857.

⁴³*Sacramento Daily Union*, September 3, 1857.

⁴⁴*Sacramento Daily Union*, September 23, 1858; *Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2458; *New York Times*, April 5, 1858.

Although these contracts indicated a recognition of the importance of the South Pass route, nevertheless its friends were not satisfied. Representative Craig of Missouri attempted to induce Brown to improve the service on the Chorpennig branch. Brown consented, but his order for effecting the change was vetoed by the President and a part of the Cabinet.⁴⁵ Craig then took the issue to Congress, and carried through the House a resolution directing the Postmaster General to provide a weekly service between St. Joe and Placerville and a reduction in the length of the overland trip from thirty-eight to thirty days.⁴⁶ This resolution was fought in the Senate by Southerners.⁴⁷ The West and the North, however, were too strong for the opposition, and the resolution passed, June 12, 1858.⁴⁸ Again the President blocked the way by refusing to approve the resolution after Congress had adjourned.⁴⁹

That the people of California did not consider even the arrangement of 1858 a satisfactory overland mail is revealed by the increasing agitation between 1858 and 1861 for a daily stage on the South Pass route. "Daily mails," observed Postmaster General Holt* in 1859, "are now insisted upon by the smallest communities . . . and it has been impossible to make the slightest curtailment without provoking remonstrance and rebuke."⁵⁰ But a daily mail on the South Pass route was not the demand of only a small community; it had behind it much of the artillery of the Northern and Western press. One of the pioneer agitators, the Sacramento *Daily Union*, kept alive its interest and poured out a stream of editorials urging a speedy recognition of the route. The cry was taken up in 1859 and 1860 by the San Francisco

⁴⁵*House Miscellaneous Documents*, 41st Congress, 3d Session, No. 66, p. 10.

⁴⁶*Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 2805, 2904.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 3002-03.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 3005.

⁴⁹*Sacramento Daily Union*, July 22, 1858.

*March 8, 1859, Postmaster General Brown died. His successor, Joseph Holt, was called upon to economize in the Department. Holt selected the overland mail as one subject for his economies.

⁵⁰*Postmaster General's Report*, 1859, *Executive Documents*, 36th Congress, Serial 1025, p. 1427.

Times, the *Shasta Republican*, the *St. Louis Herald*, the *St. Joseph Gazette*, the *St. Louis Democrat*, the *New York Tribune*, the *San Francisco Telegram*, the *San Francisco Bulletin*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. Various papers advocated different plans for increasing the service, but on one point all agreed: the Butterfield mail was inadequate and the service on the central routes had to be improved. In December, 1858, the contractors on the South Pass route staged a continental race with Butterfield and Company in carrying the President's message. The South Pass riders came through in quicker time, and at once the friends of the route proclaimed its superiority.⁵¹ The issue arose in Congress in 1858 and 1859, but the supporters of the central routes were not united on a plan, and the proposals put forward failed to materialize. In the spring of 1860, W. H. Russell established his Pony Express in order to demonstrate once for all the superiority of the South Pass route.⁵² His almost phenomenal success seemed to prove finally that the West was being imposed upon by the twenty-two-day mail on the Southern route. The interest in the question became so general that by March, 1860, one correspondent described it as the leading topic of the day.⁵³

Such an issue could not keep out of politics. It had provided one of the chief sources of controversy in the California pre-election campaign of 1859. The party that urged the claims of the South Pass route was the newly forming party of the North and West. Realizing the vast importance of the issue to California, the Republicans undertook to secure the support of the doubtful state by giving it what it wanted most—the daily mail. March 8, 1860, Representative Colfax of Indiana brought forth a daily South Pass overland mail bill which passed the House five days after it was introduced.⁵⁴ As soon as the bill arrived in the Senate, it placed the two Democratic senators from California in a serious dilemma.

⁵¹*Sacramento Daily Union*, January 3, 1859.

⁵²Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, Chicago, 1893, p. 167. *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 23, 1860.

⁵³*Ibid.*, April 11, 1860.

⁵⁴*Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1159, p. 1131.

If they opposed the bill, they would incur endless hostility at home; if they supported it, they would help pass a measure for which the Republicans would receive the credit. Gwin, in hopes of extricating himself, struck a bargain with the Administration. It was agreed that he was to obstruct the Colfax bill and to allow the session to expire without action; afterwards he was to be rewarded by an order from the Postmaster General improving the service on the South Pass route. Gwin fancied himself returning to California to boast that his personal influence had secured what the combined force of the Republicans in Congress had failed to effect.⁵⁵ Accordingly, as chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, he reported a substitute for the Colfax measure.⁵⁶ The Republicans, however, rose to the occasion and by amendments of their own threatened to defeat Gwin's plan.⁵⁷ Senator Latham, the other Democratic senator from California, wanted some credit out of the business, so he too produced a series of proposals.⁵⁸ The overland mail bill became so burdened with substitutes, amendments, and modified amendments that the session closed in June as Gwin had planned before decisive action had been secured.⁵⁹

Gwin now hastened to procure the fulfillment of the promise made to him. To his dismay, Postmaster General Holt, a determined enemy of overland mails, refused to spend another dollar on the route. Gwin then called upon the President. In the interview that followed, Buchanan found himself in an embarrassing position. Gwin was one of his chief supports in the Senate. Holt, who was indispensable to the Cabinet, threatened to resign if his policy in his Department were reversed at the bid of an outsider. Buchanan attempted to persuade Gwin to drop the matter. But the fate of the overland mail meant more to Gwin than the soothing words of the President. Bitterly disappointed in the

⁵⁵*New York Times*, July 12, 1860. See letter, Gwin to Buchanan, *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 28, 1860.

⁵⁶*Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 2338-39.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 2338-39.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 2457-61.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 3195.

miscarriage of his plans, he broke relations with the President and denounced him as false and treacherous.⁶⁰ Thus the overland mail issue, after threatening to disrupt the Cabinet, cost the President one of his most influential supporters.

Gwin had to return to California to face the election of 1860 without the political capital he desired. The Republicans too were checked, but not checkmated. In their platform of May, 1860, they had incorporated a plank declaring for a daily overland mail. They made the most of the issue in the campaign that followed. "On every stump and every hustings it was proclaimed by their orators that in the event of the Republican party getting control of the government, a daily overland mail would be given to California."⁶¹ As soon as Congress assembled in 1860 the Republicans proceeded to live up to their promise. After the secession of the Gulf states had removed the opposition to the South Pass route, Congress provided, February 29, 1861, for the establishment of a daily overland mail. A provision authorizing the continuation of part of the Southern service was included as a means of keeping the country in touch with Texas.⁶² The day after the passage of this act, word came that secessionist attacks had destroyed the Southern mail. Accordingly, a series of amendments were attached to the pending Post Office Appropriation bill providing for the abandonment of the Southern line and the establishment of a daily stage on the South Pass route. There were other provisions of minor importance. The price of the new service, which was to begin July 1, 1861, was fixed at \$1,000,000 a year.⁶³

Thus secession finally decided the contest between sections over the continental mail in favor of the North.

⁶⁰*Sacramento Daily Union*, July 23, 1860, quoting Washington correspondent of *San Francisco Bulletin*.

⁶¹Representative Scott, January 29, 1861, *Globe*, 36th Congress, 3d Session, p. 619.

⁶²*Globe*, 36th Congress, 3d Session, Appendix, p. 326.

⁶³*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 336.

DIARY OF A JOURNEY FROM KENTUCKY TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849

BY CAPTAIN J. A. PRITCHARD*

On the night of the 10th of April 1849 I left my residence in the town of Petersburg—Ky—on the Steamer Cambria with my traveling companions and mules and wagons Samuel Hardesty William Wilkie T. P. Youell, M. Stephens, Perry McNeely, John Wilkie, & N. P. Norris—for an over land route across the Rocky Mountains to California, and arrived in St. Louis on the night of the 13th without any accident occurring or any thing of moment transpiring. On board the Cambria we found several Companies from different parts of the States, and among the rest was the Ethica company of New York—A joint stock association composed of 50 members with a capital invested of \$25,000, etc. The forenoon of the 14th was spent in getting our Mules ashore & finishing our outfit for the journey—This all done, at 4 P. M. I with Hardesty, J. Wilkie & M. Stephens started from St. Louis to Indipendance through the country with the Mules while W. Wilkie McNeely Norris & Youell continued on board the steamer with our Baggage to Indipendance—landing—There were two young men with their Mules & Horses traveled across the country with us—Mitchell, of New York—& Burr Runnells, of Ohio. After a very amusing romp through the Streets with our Mules jurking the riders off occasionally we pushed out of the City at a pretty rapid rate—& sunset found us 16 miles on our road—at an Inn kept by a widow Lady by the name of Martin formerly of Madison Co—Ky—We had good accommodations for our selves & Mules—

*The diary is the property of Hon. John I. Williamson, Kansas City, Missouri, to whom The State Historical Society of Missouri is indebted for this contribution. Only that portion of the diary is here reproduced which relates to Missouri. The author, Captain Pritchard, was the brother-in-law of Mr. Williamson's father.

The land through here is handsome & fertile. Distance 16 miles

Sunday April 15th. After an early breakfast we found our selves on the road—merrily pushing along towards the place of our destination—as our Mules were fresh it was impossible to keep them back—We Struck the Missouri River in 4 miles from where we started this morning—opposite the Town of St. Charles—The bottom on the south side of the river at this point is rather wide, low, & fertile then otherwise & looks as if it was Subject to overflow in time of high freshets—There is a good steam-ferry Boat kept at this place—Here, after a lapse of 27 years my Eyes rested once more on the turbid waters of this most Singular River, my mind was irresistable carried back to the scenes of my Childhood—and associations which were not of the most agreeable character found them selves upon it—tho it is generally pleasant to reflect upon our youthful scenes—St. Charles is rather a neat looking little Town built between the river & the hill that rises to some considerable height in its rear, & stretches a long way up and down the river for a mile or more. St. Charles is situated on the North or upper side of the Missouri River and 20 miles above its confluence with the Mississippi—At a distance of 14 miles we halted to take some refreshments for our selves & animals at an Inn kept by an elderly Gentleman by the name of Campbell (New Stone House) a Virginian—Here we saw quite a number of Emigrants encamped & resting over Lord's day—good accommodations & low prices—At 2 P. M. we resumed our journey and reached the farm house of a Gentleman by the name of Coleman to the right of the road who entertained travellers when called upon, Coleman was from Gallatin Co—Ky—distance this afternoon 15 miles—Whole distance to day 33 miles—

Monday 16th This morning when we awoke, for the first time, we were saluted by a multitude of Prairie Chickens with their dolorous sounds—The land through here is high

rolling Prairie the land is fertile & the farms finely improved. The weather has been clear with a strong N East wind—which renders it extremely disagreeable travelling over this Prairie country—At 7 A. M. we left Coleman's & Passed through several large Prairies this forenoon interspersed with low shrubby timber to underbrush—On one of those Prairies at 9 this morning we had a heavy fall of Snow for about 15 or 20 minutes which rendered it exceedingly unpleasant travelling on *Muleback* we got to Jones's tavern by noon a distance of 20 ms & here we overtook 8 or 10 ox teams bound for California. At 1½ past we continued our journey & found the road fine running across a fine level—(or undulated) Prairie country rich fertile & inviting good farms & well improved—About 5 P M we passed through a little Town called Danville—and 5 ms farther on we crossed a large creek high hills rough roads—1½ ms farther at the top of the hill we reached Cranes tavern Stand—where we put up for the night Distance 42 ms.

Tuesday 17th We resumed our journey at 7 this morning passed through some woodland & in 7 ms we came to Williamsburgh & took the middle road which led through Columbia to Rocheport where we desine crossing the River again—And at noon we were at A Allens tavern stand—19 ms from Crane's—At 2 P M—we left Allens & immediately struck a large Prairie 15 miles across—we then had timbered land for 6 or 8 ms. The wind blew a cold chilling blast from the N West—all day—at about 6 P M we reached the residence of Mr. Thos Grant formerly of Scott co. Ky & related to the Grants of that State—We applied to stay all night & he told us he never turned off travellers—And we found him to possess all the hospitality Characteristic of the well bred Kentuckyan—He has a fine farm—& Brick house—with every thing in abundance around him—23 ms this afternoon. Distance to day 42 ms.

Wednesday 18th This was a cold frosty morning—we were now in the district of country that suffered so much

from the hale & sleet during the last winter—The timber in many places was literally crushed to the earth—the branches were all or nearly so broken off and nothing but the snags & stubs left standing as the liveing monument of the great distress that had once been there. The timber is plenty through this part of the State—and the soil decidedly the best that we have seen since we left St. Louis—Six miles from Grant's we reached Columbia—one of the neatest and handsomes little Towns that I have seen in my life—In this place there is a fine College or institution of learning—it is 14 miles from Columbia to River at Rocheport—at which place we arrived by noon—We passed between these two points the large train from St. Louis—When we got to the river there were so many ahead of us, the ferryman told us that we could not cross for 3 days—So I took dinner at the tavern and hurried off to Booneville a handsome Town situated 12 miles above Rocheport & on the South west side of the Missouri River. At this place we found a first rate Steam ferry Boat that could cross all the teams at the lower ferry in one day—At this point we met the Steam Boat Cambria that had on board our Baggage & the ballance of our Company—I rode down to the landing & went on Board & changed my Cloths etc—Here Stephens and Youell changed places—we travelled 3 ms out to Thomas's Stand and put up for the night Distance 35 ms.

Thursday 19th At 7 this morning we were on the road, and in 5 ms we Struck, and crossed the Lamoine River passing on through fine country & well improved farmes & clever People, by noon we reached the fine and extensive residence of the renowned Dr. Sapington the Daddy of all the Pills—and with him we took dinner—I found him to be a very adroit & singularly eccentric Character—jocular & lively & rather quisical possessing a high degree of hospitality and Gentlemanly demeanor—He is a large fine looking man about 6 feet high and looks to be a bout 70 years of age with heavy suit of hair & it as white as Snow—his Beard was as white as his head and hung to his breast—His wife was a pleasant

agreeable Lady and appeared to be much his junior—Just through this region of country, its mostly Prairie, but the land is very fertile—the Farmers raise hemp extensively through here—This after noon we saw 2 deer & a great number of Prairie Chickens—At sunset we reached Capt Kise's—but he was so crowded with Emergrants the he could not accomodate us—we turned and road back about one mile and stayed at a farne house owned by a Mr. Webb—who was a Virginian—Distance 37 miles.

Friday 20th The farmes along here are mostly in Prairies & the farmers many of them have to haul their railles to fence their farmes from 10 to 15 ms. Notwithstanding this to us a great disadvantage they say that they can fence their farmes sooner than they could clear of the timbered land—The soil is admirably addapted to the culture of hemp which formes one of their principal articles of agriculture & trade—And corn grass and everything in proportion. We reached Crissman's to dinner a distance of 16 ms—Soone after dinner we resumed our journey and during the after noon we crossed the river Torban 8 miles this side of Lexington—we reached Catrens this evening and put up for the night. Distance 37 ms.

Saturday 21st In four miles we reached Lexington a handsome Town, part of it is situated immediately on the Mo. River & part on the hill a bout 1 mile back—The lands around this place cannot be surpassed either in beauty or fertility—The timber is very heavy and of a fine quality—we travelled 18 ms—and halted for dinner at the farm house of Mr. Arnold—He was a very clever Gentleman & read to us a letter that had just been recd in the Neighborhood from a gentleman in California who had emergrated the year before from that neighbourhood Who gave flattering accounts of the gold discoverys—While we were eating dinner a Mr. Stewart & 2 other Gentlemen came & called for dinner—Stewart recognized Hardesty & made him-self known to him. Stewert had once lived in Petersburg—During our after noons travell we crossed a fine large creek (late in the even-

ing) upon which was a fine looking Mill owned by Rice—We stoped on the hill $1\frac{1}{2}$ ms from the creek and put up for the night withe the widow Adams—plain old fassion sort of folks—Distance 40

Sunday 22nd We reached Indipendance this morning at 8 oclk—A M & continued to the river where we found the ballance of our company & Baggage it was 6 ms from where we stayed last night to Indipendance & 3 from there to the landing—We commenced hearnessed up our mules & loaded in our goods & chattles and moved out one mile to a good camping place on the road towards Town—where we encamped for several days—Distance to Indipendance 6 miles—

The whole distance from St. Louis Mo—to Indipendance according to the stament of distances as given to me by the inhabitance a long the road—from place to place & from time to time which I presume to be correct as I got it from the most relyable sources—is two hundred & Eighty Eight miles—We were all ready to start on our trip across the plains by the 24 of April but we were perswaded by the old settlers that that was too early as we would find no grass upon the plains for our Stock—In fiew of these statements we postponed starting till the 3 of May—And remained during the time encamped in and around Indipendance—But this advice we found to be extreemly detrimental to us—it served only to place us in the reare of a great number of large traines which we were compelled eventually to pass. We were prepared to take with us grane enough to feed our mules twice pr day for a distance of 400 miles—Therefore we Should have started at least 10 or 12 days sooner—which would have given us great advantages in the way of selecting good camping places.

Indipendance is a handsome flourishing town with a high healthy situation—three miles from the Missouri River on the south side And Surrounded by one of the most beautiful & fertile countries of any Town in the Nation—The land is well timbered with the most luxuriant groth of black Walnut Blue & Black Ash, Hackbury large Bur, white & black Oak

Buckey Boxelder Coffee nut etc—Soil with that growth of timber cannot help being abundantly productive besides it has a lime Stone foundation—Its geographical position is such that the climate is unsurpassed in the Union. The Emigrants were encamped in every direction for miles around the place awaiting the time to come for their departure—Such were the crowded condition of the streets of Ind—by long trains of Ox teams mule, teams men there with stock for sale and men there to purchase stock that it was all most impossible to pass a long—And the California fever raging to such a fearful extent that it was carrying off its thousands per day—Being all ready now to bid adieu to home, friends, and happy country, as it were—for we were about separating our selves from the abodes of civilization, its peace, comforts, and its safety, for a period we knew not how long, and to some for ever, to launch a way upon the broad and extensive plains—which stretches away and away, until it fades from the sight in the dim distance, and bounded only by the blue wall of the Sky. While thus laying round in suspense the reflections of home were forcibly crowding upon our minds the happy influences that we had torned our selves from to enter up on a wild and in all probability a chimerical enterprise. In this state of Suspence we had wandered a long in search of grass for our Mules, and for the purpose of accustoming them to the use of the Lariat & the Stake—untill on the 2nd of May we found our selves some 13 ms from Independence

Thursday May 3rd 1849 W. W. Abbott of Burbone co—Ky having attached him self to our company on the evening previous—We were all ready this morning to take up the line of march—which did at an early hour—We crossed the state line at about 9 A M—where we found a great number of Emigrants—among the rest was the large train commanded by Mr. Henspeath the great Mountaineerer—We were now on the large Prairie—and in the Indian Territory—These lands through here are very Rich indeed the road was fine all day—It showered a little on us during

the day—at 3 P. M. we reached the noted lone Elm, where we encamped for the night—This lone tree stands on the bank of a Small stream—with no other tree or shrub in sight, all the branches have been cut from it by traders & Emergans for the purpes of fuel, at this place we found some 40 or 50 Emegrants Wagons—halted for the night—Distance from Indipendance 34 miles—

Friday May 4 It was raining this morning and we did not start to 9 and in 8 miles came to where the Sante Fe road leaves the old Orregon trail—It still continued to rain and the roads became some what heavy—still passing over high rolling Prairie we continued till 3 P. M. which brought us to a large creek, called Bool Creek—There is an abundance of timber a long its banks and bottoms—just before we reached the creek we found one unfortunate fellow with the tongue broken square off at thonds of his wagon—We crossed the creek and encamped for the night—It had been raining all day & were wet & chilled by the exposure—We discovered a dead Oak close by and in a few minutes it was converted into a splendid log fire, by which we cooked our supper & got comefortably warm before bed time, We pased some 70 wagons to day—Distance 18—

Saturday 5th We left our camp this morning and travelled over rolling Prairie land crossing severall creeks withe steep banks and made a heard days march passing during the day some 80 teams, and late in the evening soped to camp at what is called coons point, on a small ravine with some timber a long its banks Distance 28 ms—

Sunday 6th We left camp this morning early & travelled over country pretty much such as we did yesterday, in fact the general face of the country through here is pretty much a like—At 2 P. M. we reached a fine large creek called Shunganung—we found a large number of wagons crossing they had to take it by turnes and let their wagons dow the steep banks. Theay all crossed and encamped for the night we

did the same—There was something near 100 wagons, some Ox & some Mule teams the grass was good a long the creek bottoms, we are now in the Potiwatimy dstrict and in sight of one of their villages. a number of them came in to our camp this afternoon, One of them spoke good English—The boys spent some time in Shooting at marks with them They had plenty of horses & asked a good price for them—Distance 16 ms—

Monday 7th We had to travel 16 miles to upper ferry or 3 to the lower ferry—what we lost on this side by travelling to the upper ferry we gained on the other and as nearly all the Emegrants were going to the lower ferry—we took the upper one—And one mile before strikeing the Kansas river is a mission and trading post called Potiwatin. There are several white familys liveing there & some 4 or 5 stores black smith Shop etc—A number of the Indians are liveing in the village—we called a halt of an hour or such a matter in the town and let the boys trade a little—We reached the River a bout 12 M—and crossed at 3 P. M. There was 2 ferry boats one kept by a half breed Indian (Michigan) & the other by a white man—This river is a bout 120 yards wide, with a strong bold current—the water is rather turbed—after crossing we came out to creek about 2 miles & encamped for the night grass good Distance 18 ms—

Tuesday 8th About one mile above our camp we crossed the creek—here we were compelled to double teams in order to get through the bank very steep & muddy—Our rout to day was a long the Kansas bottom principally, the bottom being soft made it very heard pulling we crossed a number of creeks & mud hole, with steep banks—we passed an Indian village about 9 A. M. where their was a saw mill, and a temporary bridge thrown across a bad muddy creek by an Old Indian who charged us 25 cts a piece for our wagons —In a bout 10 ms from where we started this morning we came to a Catholic mission—surrounded with a number of Indians Wigwams—At three P M we reached the big Ver-

million about one mile before reaching the river, the bottom Road and hill road as it is called came together—The hill road is said to be the best early or of a wet time. The Vermillion is the largest that we have crossed since we left the Kansas—its waters are clear bold & beautiful with stonny bead its bank are steep—The bottoms are about one mile in width & finely timbered in places for some distance out—we crossed and encamped for the night, good grass—The weather being warm we took a baith in its clear blue water—Distance 23 ms—

Wednesday 9th We are now out in the Indian country and there are various rumeurs afloat, with regard to their committing depredations on Emigrant parties, we deemed it necessary to keep a strict guard over our Mules during the night—Last evening after we encamped there came to our camp a gentleman who had been left at the Kansas crossing by his party—we took him in and kept with us till this evening when we overtook his train—His name was Jacob Hoover—from Eagle Village Ind—Five miles after leaving camp this morning M Stephens drove his wagon into deep mudhole & broke the Tongue—We however were not detained long with that—we laid it smoothly together and roped it with Twine and drove on till noon—where we stoped on a fine stream of water rested & greazed our Animals one hour & a half—After which we resumed our march and at dark overtook the Indiana train Commanded by Capt Fash, composed of 17 wagons and 60 men we temporarily attached our selves to his train untill we could make farther arrangements Distance 27 ms—

Thursday 10th We made an earlys tart this morning in order to pass a large Ox train which had encamped just a head of us—The road was rather hilly to-day—We nooned 2 hours after crossing a small stream, and continued our march till 4 P. M. when we came to the big Blue—This is a fine large stream with a bold rapid current & gravelly bottom—We had here to lower our wagons down with ropes—

which consumed the balance of the evening in crossing all the train—The soil is very fine on this river, and the bottoms are well timbered—This will doubtless become a fine farming country—and that before many years—here we encamped for the night Distance 22 ms—

Friday 11 By noone to-day we came to where the St. Joseph road & Indipendence road come together—It was allarming to see the long strings of wagons that were on the road—I counted just passing before us as we came into the St. Jo road 90 Ox teams in one string—And as far as the Eye could reach forward and back the road was just lined with them—It would appear from the sight befor us—that the nation was disgorgeing its self and sending off its whole inhabitation—We were not able to pass this train till they stoped for the night—came by them 3 ms & stoped where there was neither wood water nor but little grass—we—however found a hole of water after so long a time and a little brush some mile or so down the branch. Seven of our 8 were put on guard to night—I told the boys that, that way of doing business was rather too exciting to be pleasant—And that did not suit me—So we determined to leave the train at the earlyest opportunity—Distance 22 ms—

Saturday 12—May Nothing of any moment occurred to-day, we made an early start this morning—Our rout to-day lay across rather a broken country—or high table lands—The face of the country all day has appeared like climbing an encline plain—the top of which we never could gane. We crossed several branches to day one of which we had to bridge with willow brush—Occasionally we see a tree or a clump of bushes at a distance which indicates a spring of Pool of water—We nooned of a Small branch that had the appearance of being dry except in wet weather—this after noon we crossed several dry branches with gravelly beds—and encamped on one of the tributarys of the little Blue—Distance 20 ms—

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MISSOURIANS

BY DANIEL M. GRISSOM

THIRD ARTICLE

JAMES S. ROLLINS

James S. Rollins of Boone county was one of the great men of Missouri. He had the opportunity, which he faithfully improved, of doing much for the state, and in Central Missouri (which he represented in Congress) but chiefly in Columbia, where his name is so intimately associated with the State University, he is remembered with a gratitude and affection to which nothing could be added, and from which nothing can be taken. In the early part of his public career, he was called "Jim" Rollins by the personal friends who recognized in him the capacities for usefulness which he afterwards developed, and who were fortunate in possessing the friendship of a young man of such noble qualities and such high promise; later on, he was known as "Rollins of Boone," because he had come to be so constantly and honorably associated with measures for the interest of the good old county, that it seemed he and it had been born for one another; and later still, when the promise of his youth had ripened into the full usefulness which his friends looked for, he came to be known as Major Rollins.

He was tall and erect in person and full of form, without being even inclined to portliness; and few men could be more at ease, or present a better appearance on a platform, addressing a popular audience. In early life he was a Whig and continued so, as long as there was any Whiggery left to stand by; but when the dominant party in Missouri became divided into Benton Democrats and Anti-Benton Democrats, without becoming a Benton Democrat, his views on slavery and the Kansas-Nebraska question brought him into friendly

relations with Benton and his co-partisans, and he was charged with being "unsound," on slavery—the gravest reproach that could be made against a public man in Central Missouri in those days.

The first time I saw him was in the office of the *Evening News* in St. Louis, in 1854, and I have a vivid recollection of his somewhat grave and quiet but pleasant demeanor, as he sat with perfect composure in his chair conversing with the company around him. He was in the prime of life; he had the flowing beard which he always wore, and which so well became him; and his face was so browned as if by exposure, that he might have been mistaken for a well-to-do farmer, had there not been something in the calm look of his eye and the dignity and grace of his bearing that suggested familiarity and dealing with other human affairs.

There was a lawyer in Columbia, Col. Sam Young, from Bourbon county, Kentucky, whose brilliant talents and popular manners gave him an influence in Boone county not inferior to that enjoyed by Rollins; and as Young was as "sound" on slavery as even the South Carolina or Mississippi standard could exact, and was withal, a first rate speaker, the two men inevitably came in antagonism for supremacy in the University county, and for supremacy in Central Missouri—and, for a time it seemed even chances whether the survivor was to be Rollins or Young. That Rollins maintained himself against his brilliant antagonist, and in a constituency whose views on the question of slavery were more nearly represented by Young than by himself is accounted for by the admirable self-control and adroitness which were conspicuous features of his character, and which served him well in many a trying position.

He began life as a lawyer after two years study with that distinguished jurist, one of the very greatest of Missouri lawyers, Judge Abiel Leonard, and at one time gave promise of rising to eminence in the profession; but he soon became interested in public affairs,—politics, popular education and internal improvements—and these left him little time for a severely jealous profession which awards success and dis-

tion to its votaries only on condition that they follow it with an undivided homage. He was recognized as a foremost champion of popular education, an advocate and supporter of all measures that fostered development in modern civilization, and, pre-eminently a friend of railroads. He attended a railroad convention in St. Louis as early as 1836—fifteen years before there was a mile of road laid in the State. He was made president of it, and wrote the memorial to Congress asking for a grant of public lands to aid a general system of internal improvements in the West.

In 1860 he was engaged in the most important and difficult canvass of his life, his first race for Congress; and the fact that his competitor was John B. Henderson, one of the ablest men, as well as one of the best speakers and one of the most adroit politicians in the state, gave to the contest an interest that extended to the state boundaries. The long and angry strife over slavery which had been going on with a deepening intensity since the Mexican war, was coming to a head, and little else was talked about in the public discussions. To be "sound" on the slavery question was the supreme qualification for public position, and if a candidate could make out his antagonist to be unsound on that vital point, the contest was as good as settled. Rollins and Henderson were the two ablest men in the district, the one a Bell-Everett American, the other a Democrat, and in the business of give and take before a popular audience, either was a match for the other. Rollins was charged with being a Free Soiler, and the task of defending himself from the accusation was complicated by the desire to secure the support of a considerable German element in Warren and St. Charles counties, at the head of which stood Frederick Muench (Münch), an avowed Freesoiler, who afterwards, became a prominent member of the legislature. In a speech made at Marthasville, Warren county, to these Germans, Rollins said so many things to conciliate them that Muench, who was present, wrote an account of the meeting to a German paper at Hannibal, in which he expressed his satisfaction with Rollins' views, and declaring that the Germans might safely

support him. Henderson got hold of this letter, and had it translated and republished in the *Missouri Republican* which arrived at Sturgeon on the morning of the day when the antagonists were to meet for a joint debate. Rollins knew nothing of the republication and when Henderson charged him with bargaining for the Freesoil German vote, he jumped to his feet and indignantly denied it. Henderson then read the letter and concluded by charging that his opponent was on terms of friendly correspondence with *Munch*, the German Freesoiler. Up to this point Rollins was evidently uneasy, but Henderson's mispronunciation of Muench's name disclosed a way out of the predicament, and he promptly took advantage of it. With his accustomed composure and blandness, he said: "I do not know the man Mr. Henderson is talking about. I do not know, and never had any intercourse with a man in Warren county named Munch. The only person in Warren county I am on terms of correspondence with is my friend Mr. Frederick *Minch*, a most estimable and honorable citizen of Missouri."

The crowd accepted the statement, and applauded without ever suspecting that the "estimable and honorable Frederick Minch," and "Munch, the Freesoiler," were one and the same person.

When it is stated that at the election which followed a few weeks after, Rollins was chosen by a majority of only 254, given him by the Germans of Warren county, his dexterity in turning a point of orthoepy against his competitor, and that competitor, John B. Henderson, will be recognized. If Mr. Muench's name had been pronounced with u instead of i, Rollins probably would not have gone to Congress that time.

In 1836, when he was a young man twenty-four years of age, he had the hap to meet the famous John Smith T., noted in three states as the most successful duelist and one of the most successful killers of the day. Reports credited him with having slain fifteen men in Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri, and it was agreed among those who knew him that he would have no compunction in

slaying as many more, on the most trifling provocation. The young lawyer while visiting Jefferson City was accosted by Smith in the bar-room of the tavern where he had just registered and politely invited to take a drink. Without knowing the man and the danger of refusing, Rollins declined the invitation as politely as it was offered on the plea that he did not drink. The duelist and killer gently and pleasantly commanded the whisky of the tavern, and again invited the young stranger to join him in testing it; again the young lawyer declined; and as he turned away, the landlord who had watched the course the matter was taking, managed to tell him in a low voice who the suave stranger was, and to suggest that he accept the proffered courtesy. Before extending the third invitation Smith drew his pistols and laid them on the counter and slowly and quietly said: "Mr. Jeems Rollins, it is drink or fight, just as you please—quick—and you may have choice of weapons." "If that is the case," Rollins pleasantly replied, "let it be drink"—and they walked up to the bar and cemented the acquaintance so strangely begun, in the tavern whisky.

On the 27th of September, 1864, when Bill Anderson and his bushwhackers captured a train of sick Union soldiers at Centralia and massacred them in cold blood, Rollins had a narrow escape with his life. The stage from Columbia, in which he was a passenger, arrived at Centralia shortly after the butchery, and he would certainly have shared the fate of the invalid soldiers had not a personal friend who was a Southern sympathizer taken him instantly to an upper room and concealed him till the bushwhackers left the town. On his return home Rollins met one of the bushwhackers on the road, who called him by name and told him he was going to kill him. Rollins replied that he would kill the wrong man; he was not Rollins; his name was Johnson and he was a Methodist preacher. The man reluctantly let him off; and not long afterwards Rollins saw him again when he was a prisoner, and in a conversation about the adventure, he said: "I knew you were Major Rollins, but I could not make up my mind to shoot you."

It is said that public life in the United States is always unsatisfying, and nearly always disappointing; even when it appears successful and crowned with honors, there is a drop of bitterness at the center. Rollins found it so. Although his public career seemed full-orbed and replete with usefulness to the State and honor to himself, there was one thing lacking, which he frankly confessed to his friends: he had desired and hoped to be governor of Missouri—to crown his career in the state he loved and served so well by being chosen to its chief executive office. His personal and political friends shared the ambition with him and lamented the political conditions which, notwithstanding his acknowledged abilities and his popularity, never presented an opening for the fulfillment of their hope. His public life began in 1838, when he was chosen to represent Boone county in the legislature, and continued with interruptions almost fifty years, and in this period he had occupied various positions of honor and responsibility—member of the Missouri house of representatives, member of the State senate, member of the State Convention; but all this did not fill up the measure of his ambition as long as the governor's office was denied him. He sought it in 1848, when he was the Whig candidate and was defeated by Austin A. King. He sought it again in 1857, when he was defeated by R. M. Stewart by only 344 votes. And he sought it again in 1872 when he was an aspirant for the Democratic nomination and was defeated by Silas Woodson. He recognized that this last defeat was the end of the struggle for an unattainable honor, and while submitting to it with the easy grace of manner and utter absence of resentment which constituted one of the charms of his character, there was, yet, a deep sadness in his words, when he said to a young friend and supporter, after Woodson was nominated: "This is the last. I am not ashamed to confess that I desired to be governor of Missouri. It has been a cherished ambition with me, for years. But it is all over now; the honor is denied me, and I must bid adieu to the hope forever."

In his old age, he was baptized and received into the Presbyterian church, the pastor, Dr. Campbell, performing

the ceremony while the white-haired invalid statesman lay on his couch, and he died peacefully, not long after.

Major Rollins served the people, faithfully and well, in whatever position he was chosen to, but his greatest work is that which he did for the State University of Columbia. He seemed never to have reached the end of bringing forward measures for building up the institution which, all his life occupied the first place in his heart, and which he could never do enough for. Even after his retirement from Congress, when his public career seemed to have been honorably closed, he sought and secured election to the state legislature for the purpose of presenting an important measure for the benefit of the university.

An old proverb runs: "It is better that it be said of thee, after thou art gone, 'Why has not this man a statue?' than, 'Why has this man a statue?'"—and the first part of it may well be asked as the questioner stands in the University campus at Columbia and sees before him and round him the products of Rollins' devotion and affection for the institution which owes its greatness in so large a measure to him.

THE NEW JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

SIXTH ARTICLE

THE CATECHISM

The catechism was one of the innovations of the new journalism in Missouri. It made an impression on the reading public. An interviewing corps of from twenty to thirty reporters was organized. Decorated with imposing white silk badges and carrying handsomely printed cards with questions and blank spaces for the answers, the reporters descended upon the body to be catechised. Scant time was given for reflection. No opportunity was offered for consultation of authorities. In this manner the corps visited the New York Stock Exchange, the members of which were called upon to tell who was President of the United States in 1840, and in several other years. Each man's answer was published, with his name. The interviewing corps marched upon the floor of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis and queried and, in most cases, queered the local bulls and bears on the Ten Commandments.

Perhaps the most notable of the catechisms was that to which Congress was subjected in 1891. The time selected was the opening day of a Democratic House, when for the first time in a number of years a Democratic Speaker was to be elected. The interviewing corps did its work in the sensational contest between Charles F. Crisp and Roger Q. Mills. Several days before the opening of Congress Mr. McCullagh broached the plan in a letter to the Washington correspondent of the *Globe-Democrat*:

"Could you organize a corps of reporters—say twenty—to run a catechism class on the floor of the House the first day of Congress? I will prepare the questions,—all to relate to political history. The thing to be conducted like the New

York Exchange matter. I think you know the *modus operandi*. Answer by telegraph, and I will write further instructions."

Subsequent letters and telegrams show the care with which the inventor of the catechism planned these campaigns:

"I am extremely anxious to make a success of the catechism, and think the material is there. Some of the questions are quite 'catchy' and will fool the boys. For instance, 'How many ex-Presidents died on the Fourth of July?' Well, they will remember John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, but most of them will forget James Monroe. Our success, of course, will be proportioned to the number who can't answer. You might send four or five men among the Departments to tackle the Secretaries. If you can find a man with nerve to tackle the White House it would be well. I am having nice badges made, each reporter to wear one. I will send the cards to you by express. Be careful and do not let them get out. If they should work out a 'key' and circulate it in advance the joke would be on us."

"Enclosed is a proof of the badge for the interview. It will be printed on fine white silk. The motto is a thing which Mr. Sumner would have said had he lived long enough, I think. Will send by express, probably Saturday night, 600 copies of catechism and 75 badges. Do not open the bundle until the morning of the raid. I am terribly afraid of the list of questions getting out and spoiling our fun. Take the bundle unopened to your room and lock it up."

"I will have the answers set up and printed on proofslips and forwarded to you to be given to the reporters. I think you had better not distribute them until after the raid, as it is just as well that reporters should not know the answers when presenting the questions. You will get them in a large envelope Saturday morning."

By wire: "Catechism cards and badges by express tonight. Do not open package until December 7," (the date of the opening of Congress).

All of Mr. McCullagh's letters of instruction were in his handwriting. He did not resort to dictation. The catechism

program was carried out in strict accordance with instructions. All of official Washington was covered by the interviewing corps. Upon the white silk badges was an artistic picture of the capitol. The report of the experiences of the interviewers filled fifteen columns of the *Globe-Democrat* the next day. The caption and the introduction tell the story in brief:

CONGRESS CATECHISED.

The *Globe-Democrat's* Class in Political History Descends on the Capital.

An Attempt to Ascertain What Our Statesmen Know About American History.

Fourteen Simple Questions Prove Too Much for the Great Politicians.

Not a Dozen Public Officers Knew How Old Washington Was When He Died.

The President Smiled and Smiled—Four Southern Congressmen Who Remember Their Lessons—Some Very Bad Breaks by Very Good Statesmen—None of the Senators Could Answer Them.

Special Dispatch to the Globe-Democrat.

Washington, D. C., December 7.—Men were fuming and steaming and sweating blood almost. It was a great party crisis. To the 232 men who were in it the whole world seemed to be holding its breath, when suddenly there confronted them this:

"Who was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives?"

The tension relaxed with a snap; lines of anxiety melted into broad grins; the storm center changed in a twinkling. The issue of the hour was not the speakership of the Fifty-second Congress; it was the St. Louis *GLOBE-DEMOCRAT's* class in political history.

Washington will never meet the fate of the worm. It rises leisurely. Today, however, it was astir earlier than usual. The speakership contest, after seventeen fruitless ballots on Saturday, was to be resumed at 10 o'clock this morning. By 9 o'clock the Congressmen were up and beginning to move toward the big Capitol on the hill, a mile away. At the same hour down Newspaper Row marched a column forty strong. White silk badges fluttered on their breasts. They bore this strange device:

ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT.

INTERVIEWING CORPS.

Mission for the Promulgation of Political History in the Halls of Congress.

"No American Education is complete which does not include an accurate knowledge of the political history of this country."

—Charles Sumner.

The column wheeled to the left, and started up Pennsylvania avenue: the scene of many a pageant, but never one that could be called a precedent to this. A little detachment of skirmishers fell off at the junction of Fourteenth street and turned to the right. Its destination was the White House, the great Treasury building, the War, Navy and State Departments and the Department of Justice. The corps moved on. At Thirteenth street a second detail turned to the right, and headed for the Department of Agriculture and Uncle Jerry, half a mile away. At Sixth street a third detachment wheeled to the left, and moved on the great public hives in which Secretary Noble and Postmaster General Wanamaker are king bees. But the main corps, full thirty strong, kept right along toward the big white Capitol. Once under the big dome the corps deployed. Up-stairs, down-stairs, everywhere, the interviewers scattered. They stood guard with the Doorkeeper at the House entrance and captured the Democratic Representatives hastening to the caucus. They invaded the committee rooms, where Republican Representatives were talking of the dead-lock and having no end of fun at the expense of the unwieldy majority. They wormed their way through the crowded corridors in search of truant scholars. They sat down to late breakfasts in the restaurants with members who had rushed from their bed rooms to the Capitol, and while this intellectual raid was going on at the south end of the great building the Senate wing of the corps were searching the committee rooms and having interesting experiences with grave and dignified Senators.

It was the first experience of Congress with a GLOBE-DEMOCRAT catechism, but everybody took kindly to the innovation. Statesmen who threw up their hands in despair when they fully appreciated the ordeal said it wasn't a bad idea to show Americans how little definite knowledge they really have about big events in their country's history. Representatives like Henry Cabot Lodge, on the Republican side of the House, and like Amos J. Cummings, on the Democratic side, went through the catechism as rapidly as they could write the answers. Others, like Charles H. Mansur, of Missouri, and Constantine Buckley Kilgore, took time for reflection and jotted down the answers slowly. Some flew the track at the first suggestion of a test of their historical accuracy. They pleaded lack

of time, asked that the cards be left with them or got out of the way as quickly as possible.

There was no place where the visit of the interviewer was better appreciated than at the Civil Service Commission. The Commissioners confessed judgment, and the chief examiner begged a copy of the catechism. Whether he proposes to incorporate it in his next civil service examination papers is a matter of conjecture. One member of the corps had a novel experience. When the Democratic caucus adjourned the corps passed the doorkeepers on the strength of the white badges and gained access to the floor of the House. A very busy half hour was spent. Then the floor was ordered cleared of all but members for the brief session of the House. At this juncture a group of members agreed that any man who could go around with so much political history, even if it was printed on a big card, was entitled to the privilege of the floor. The *GLOBE-DEMOCRAT* representative remained and silently participated in the proceedings.

Perhaps the reader would like to see the catechism which was the sensation of the opening day of the Fifty-second Congress. Here it is; but the newspaper print will fail to do justice to the heavy cardboard and handsome typographical appearance:

ST. LOUIS *GLOBE-DEMOCRAT*.

CLASS IN POLITICAL HISTORY

This card contains a number of questions relating to the Political History of this country. The person to whom it is handed is requested to write out the answers without consultation with any other person.

Return to the Reporter.

1. *How old was George Washington at the time of his retirement, after having served eight years as President?*

2. *How many offices were included in the Cabinet of George Washington, and what were they?*

3. *How long did Thomas Jefferson live after the close of his second Presidential term?*

4. *When was the Navy Department created, and who was the first Secretary of the Navy?*

5. *When was the Postmaster General made a Cabinet office, and who was the first Postmaster General who was also a Cabinet officer?*

6. *When was the Interior Department created, and who was the first Secretary of the Interior?*

7. *Who was the first Chief Justice of the United States?*

8. *What Chief Justice of the United States served the longest period, and how long did he serve?*

9. *What Speaker of the House of Representatives served the longest in that capacity, and how long did he serve?*

10. *How many ex-Presidents of the United States died on the Fourth of July, and who were they?*

11. *Had any President of the United States, previous to his election to that office, been Speaker of the House of Representatives? Give name or names.*

12. *Who was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives?*

13. *When were the first ten amendments to the Constitution adopted?*

14. *What article of the Constitution of the United States prescribes the method of choosing a President by Electors?*

Some of the Congressmen called these questions conundrums. They said it was unfair to arouse the curiosity without satisfying it. There was a key to the catechism, but it was not revealed until after the interviewing corps was called off. Here is the key:

1. *Sixty-five years and eleven days.*

2. *Four—Secretary of State, Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of War and Navy. (Secretary of War and Navy one office.)*

3. *1809 to 1826—17 years and 4 months.*

4. *In 1798. George Cabot.*

5. *In 1829. William T. Barry.*

6. *In 1849. Thomas Ewing.*

7. *John Jay.*

8. *John Marshall—34 years, 5 months, 7 days.*

9. *Henry Clay—10 years.*

10. *Three—Jefferson, Adams and Monroe.*

11. *James K. Polk.*

12. *Fred A. Muhlenberg.*

13. *1791.*

14. *Amendments, Article 12.*

When the 25,000 words had been received in the Globe-Democrat office before midnight, Mr. McCullagh wired:

"Catechism a great success from the end. Hope it worked up the people in Washington."

Two or three days later, when he had judged the effect, and had read newspaper comments on it, Mr. McCullagh wrote:

"I need hardly say how well everybody at this end is pleased with the catechism work. It was splendidly done and amply repaid all effort,—not to speak of my own nervous excitement concerning its fate in advance."

ENTER "THE RAILROAD EDITOR"

Before Missourians in general had realized the radical changes in transportation impending, from river to rail, the chief came into the city room of the *Globe-Democrat* one noon and said:

"We are going to have a railroad department to be run every week day. Make all you can of it."

For half a century preceding this innovation decreed under the new journalism, "River News" had ranked high in the editorial management of St. Louis newspapers. The "river editor" was of consequence. He had his department. His copy went direct to the foreman of the composition room without curtailment. The river editor went on 'change daily and mingled with the commodores and captains. He was an authority on steamboat history. His personal relations with the river interests brought much profitable advertising to his paper.

"The Railroads" became a department in the *Globe-Democrat* about 1882. One reporter, gifted with much energy and active legs, was assigned to the daily round of railroad offices, with help from the local staff whenever there was a railroad meeting, or convention, or some special interviewing to be done on a railroad topic. Correspondents were instructed to specialize on railroad news other than accidents. Newspapers throughout the country were scrutinized for all items relating to railroad business. To this search of the exchanges Mr. McCullagh gave personal attention, bringing a bunch of clippings every afternoon to the desk of the city editor. "The Railroads" department was given from two to five columns six times a week in the *Globe-Democrat* during several years. "The railroad editor" outranked the river editor. One of the first newspapers to borrow this feature from St. Louis was the *Chicago Tribune*. Others followed until in the decade of the eighties many newspapers were running railroad departments.

This feature of the *Globe-Democrat* came as a shock to railroad officials. It was something new to meet this daily call of the reporter. Access to inner offices where sat the

president, or the general superintendent, was difficult at first. When Mr. Pulitzer sent Henry W. Moore to meet Jay Gould on an incoming train, instructed to interview the magnate respecting matters connected with the Missouri Pacific management, the city editor of the *Post-Dispatch* returned with his pompadour bristling stiffer than normally. He told a hard luck story of repeated strenuous but futile efforts to get past the porter and into the private car.

Edward B. Pryor, then a private secretary in the Wabash general offices, was one of the first railroad officials to sense the possibilities of this new relationship between press and railroads. A. A. Talmage, somewhat austere of mien, general manager of the Wabash, hung out the latchstring promptly and became one of the most approachable to the railroad editor. And the day came when Jay Gould, on one of his periodical trips to St. Louis, sent an invitation to the reporters to come into his office. Billy Hobbs, the *Globe-Democrat* railroad man, seldom lacking in assurance, was so dazed when he found himself in the presence of Mr. Gould that he was unable for a few moments to frame the questions he wanted to ask.

One of the earliest and most notable concessions by the railroads to the advantages of newspaper publicity occurred when Jay Gould met Mr. McCullagh in the great lobby of the Southern hotel and thanked him for the course of the *Globe-Democrat* in the controversy between the Missouri Pacific and the Knights of Labor. Mr. Gould did more than express appreciation in words. He asked Mr. McCullagh if there was something practicable the railroad could do to show that appreciation. At the time the *Globe-Democrat* was warmly advocating fast mail service for the Southwest. Mr. McCullagh replied to Mr. Gould that the paper had treated the labor trouble from the standpoint of law and order with the purpose of doing justice to all. He told Mr. Gould that the *Globe-Democrat* had found the Post Office Department at Washington willing to co-operate in furthering the project of a fast mail train leaving St. Louis at 2 a. m. and running across the State to Kansas City. Mr. Gould turned

to one of the general officers of the Missouri Pacific, who was with him at the time, and in Mr. McCullagh's presence asked that the proposition be given immediate consideration; he said it was his desire the fast mail train be put on unless there were strong reasons why it could not be done. In a few weeks the train was started, giving the cities and towns along the Missouri Pacific their newspapers and other mail from eight to ten hours earlier than they had been receiving them, and shortening time to the Southwest a whole day.

In this period while the press and the railroads were finding each other a Chicago paper sent a reporter out to meet Mr. Vanderbilt in his private car with an inquiry about something in which the general reader was interested. The reporter came back with the answer of the New York Central's president:

"The public be damned!"

In vain Mr. Vanderbilt explained that he had spoken in a jocular sense. The four forceful words went echoing down the years to plague transportation interests for a full generation.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

SIXTEENTH ARTICLE

Four years after Muench and his fellow immigrants came to Missouri he published an article, the title of which reads in translation: "Concerning the Lack of the Romantic in American Life." This article is now found in his "Works" pages 349 to 356. The observations here made are interesting and merit perpetuation in Muench's life story. There is no doubt but that the document was written at a time when Muench was near exhaustion in the fierce struggle with primitive conditions. Still it is worth while to record the point of view of a man such as Muench, and see through the eyes of one accustomed to an older civilization, the people and things of the new world. Therefore we read:

"Undoubtedly America, at least the United States, is farther advanced than any other country in matters pertaining to the practical side of life, such as industries, great institutions that further industries, inventions that supply conveniences, not to speak of its political conditions, in which she is superior to all other lands. Moreover, in intellectual matters this nation, now in such easy and intimate communication with the European mother countries, will not lag behind long, when once its physical affairs have become somewhat settled. But for that which we call the *romantic* in life the outlook is not so bright. Indeed there are few if any signs discernible at present which would indicate that a genuine feeling for it will be awakened in the course of time. Such a feeling cannot be accepted and adopted like a new fashion, nor can it be transplanted across the sea like an invention or a scientific discovery. Its roots lie deeper. A people that does not possess it like a dowry from the hands of the universal mother, a people which does not manifest it during the

first epochs of its existence, will scarcely ever attain it. If we ask, What is the art of these people? the answer, barring single exceptions, must be, fashionable adornments and imitations,—nothing original nothing great. Its literature? its best endeavor is a not entirely unsuccessful imitation of the novels and lyric poems of England. Its music? Fashionable trifles without deeper content. Its songs? The men sing or whistle the monotonous Yankee Doodle. The women sing cradle songs in a minor key which make one think that he is hearing an Indian funeral dirge. There are no inspiring battle songs, no hunting songs, no soul-uplifting chorals. Of other forms of art I will not speak at all. Even religion, however important it is to the life of the American, lacks the force of pure inspiration. All too frequently it assumes the form of gloomy fanaticism, or it appears like a business which one must settle with heaven. As a rule, only the Catholic churches are supplied with bells and organs. Not even the exterior of most of the church buildings is different from that of ordinary dwellings.

"If we cast a glance into the domestic life of the Americans, especially those living in the country, we find it happily characterized by an appropriate independence of the individual members, by mutual respect for all, amicability in co-operative action and proper deportment of all. Rarely indeed does one become a witness to such repugnant scenes of infelicity and infidelity as occur all too often in European families. However, the American is not unjustly reproached for his coldness. The adult members usually address each other with 'Sir' or 'Madam.' The confiding and intimate 'Du' form is lacking and has indeed no equivalent in the English language. After months of separation the members of the family merely shake hands and say, 'How do you do?' It is scarcely different from the way one greets a total stranger. Such a life is not productive of intimate relations. The American does not have intimate friends, tho all have good acquaintances.

"The composition of a given social group differs vastly from a similar group in Europe. The children assume a

much more prominent role here. A boy of twelve or fourteen years of age already represents a young man. His bearing is much more decisive than is the case with young men of greater maturity in other countries. One talks with such a youth and he answers all questions without the least childish embarrassment. And why should he not? He already attends to a definite part of the necessary work, displays independent judgment and manifests great efficiency. Unfortunately, however, he has never known the poesy of youth, indeed he can never know it. Life is all too practical and matter of course to allow for a time of roses.

"In the relation of the sexes to one another this is felt again. Nature demands its rights. Therefore love and yearning is found here as everywhere else. The strongest of all passions appears here neither distorted by excesses, nor stifled by sentimentality as it is in the old world, but neither as exalted, inspired, all consuming that one could justly apply to it the name *romantic*. (Goethe's 'Werther' would interest only a simpleton here.) It is perhaps safe to say that in the entire period of a young man's wooing not a single sentimental scene occurs. Wish and fulfillment, seeking and finding follow so quickly upon one another that poesy seems to be entirely excluded.

"If we turn to the public, national life of the Americans, every unprejudiced person must admit that the principles expressed in the federal constitution, as also in the constitutions of the several states represent the most rational and the best that has ever been decided upon in public questions. Not only theoretically, as in other countries, but also in fact, the nation enjoys a measure of freedom such as no people on earth has ever possessed. Nor has this complete and unrestrained freedom produced anarchy and decay, as was formerly prophesied, but it has laid the foundation for a relatively greater general wellbeing than has been attained anywhere else. But this same excellent constitution is the victory of reason and manly seriousness. Reason, therefore, in turn, knows how to value it as the source and condition of wellbeing. Serious reflection knows how to defend it in order

that so beneficial an institution might not perish. The emotional side of the American, if he is possessed of such a feeling, has not the slightest share in the whole thing. He lacks altogether that which we associate with the word fatherland and home-land. The beautiful word 'fatherland' is lacking in his language. He has only the word 'country.' As far as I know Byron was the first to borrow the word 'fatherland' from the German. Here no one even understands the expression. The American, following exclusively the principle of *ubi bene ibi patria*, exchanges with the greatest indifference the Hudson for the Missouri, Texas for Virginia. He would declare him ready for the mad house who, in the manner of a German, Polish or French patriot, would maintain, that the soil of the homeland is to be preferred to that of Thibet or Terra del Fuego merely to be permitted to breathe upon it or to be buried in it.

"The youths of Europe in my day, who through the study of the classics became acquainted with the glories of Greece and Rome, felt emotions bordering on ecstasy at the very word of *Republic*. When these same youths, after bitter disappointment, had become convinced that this sort of thing could not be attained in the Europe of to-day, still yearned to grasp and embrace this ideal of citizenship and popular rule, had hastened across the ocean to free America, how quickly even the greatest enthusiast became disillusioned. The sought-for freedom is here, but no romantic breath issues forth from it. They have attended no gathering on the Ruetli*. They soon recognize themselves as absolute non-entities in the political life of America, without the possibility of contributing the least thing on their part.

"The American, as a rule, possesses a resolute manliness. He allows no infringement upon his rights of person or property. When it is a question of defending his country and his freedom he does it resolutely, even at the cost of his life.

*The reference is to the secret gathering of Swiss patriots at the above named place, as depicted in Schiller's "William Tell" II, 2. The scene is the one where the revolution is formed to throw off the Austrian yoke and make Switzerland free.

He does this, because he is clever enough to recognize that otherwise he would jeopardize the conditions of his well-being. No knightly spirit, however, hovers over his banners, no battle songs such as Koerner's* resound to inspire his army. With a roaring hurrah he rushes into the ranks of his enemies, and disdaining death, strikes down everything before him. Or he accomplishes the same end with his long-range, accurate rifle while lying secure in ambush. What use has he for lyre and sword?

"The hunt in Europe still retains something of the old knightly touch. Here are heard no hunting horns, no hunting songs resound as the hunters march out to field and wood. The whole thing is merely business. It is merely a question of providing a supply of meat, or to procure a useful fur, or just to destroy a harmful animal. The sharp report of the rifle is heard in the woods, now here now there, by day or night. No joyful 'hurrah' announces the successful shot. The American is sure of his aim. He hunts in the manner of the Indian, cold-bloodedly, persevering, certain of success.

"The main sport of the autumn is horse racing. But all is done in a prosaic manner. The best horses of the finest breeds are brought together. The people try to make money by betting. They trade horses, they drink and throw dice. Not for one moment do they get out of the everyday mood. Their dancing parties, their social gathering and other festivities, though sometimes wild enough, and though sometimes enlivened by rare bits of wit, how different from similar affairs in Europe. No sound of clinking glasses, no wreath of flowers, nothing that could give food to the imagination.—On the other hand it must be remarked that infractions against the ordinary rules of proper decorum are rare, though these rules are not entirely those of the old world.

"In this universal monotony and seriousness of American life even nature seems to share†, and therein lies one explana-

*Theodore Koerner, 1791-1813, soldier-poet during the German War of Liberation. He is beloved by his people both on account of his heroic death and his fiery war-songs.

†It is noteworthy that the American birds, tho endowed with extraordinary splendor of color, edify the ear but little with song. Duden misses only the

tion of the lack of poesy in the life of the inhabitants. The East has in this respect advantages over the West. Here everything, that could give a higher charm to existence, seems to succumb gradually to the element of utility. The upper lakes, the Falls of the Niagara, the Glenn Falls of the Hudson, the Falls of Montmorenci, not far from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, several sections of mountains on the upper Hudson, the Natural Bridge in Virginia, the splendid green islands in the Ohio and so forth represent objects of natural beauty which are unsurpassed by other similar countries. Still these are only sporadic interruptions in the general monotony, which prevails throughout this extensive country, so that one could almost say, he who has seen ten miles has seen everything.

"What the West presents in natural beauty is scarcely more than the setting sun during those seasons of the year when thin bluish mist hovers along the horizon; the splendid clearness of the star-bedecked sky; the giant growth of certain trees with wonderfully beautiful foliage; the short period when in the spring the red and white blossoms of the red-bud and the dogwood burst forth from among the green foliage; the varicolored flowers of the prairie in early summer; the rich green of the corn fields and the tobacco plantations; here and there the rocky banks of the rivers towering like giant walls, etc. Usually, however the traveler wanders from state to state, from town to town without observing anything that would attract his attention especially. No weather-beaten ruin, no ancient building remind him of times and generations that exist no more. Everything he sees is of recent origin, serving the uses of the moment, and created only with consideration of such use. Of ruins he sees only forsaken home-

nightingale. I say even the German blackbird, thrush, lark, and warbler, the robin, as also the various kinds of finches are not equalled by their American cousins. Of course, the red bird, the blue bird, as also a rust-colored thrush and the different varieties of warblers do enliven the woods during the spring with their song. Also the native flowers of America, tho in part splendidly colored and of beautiful form and shape, are almost entirely odorless. Only the blossoms of the wild grape and of the wild apple tree are fragrant. The former fills the woods with almost southern fragrance in June. The American violet lacks all fragrance. (Muensch.)

steads, delapidated log-cabins, decaying fences, which arouse in him every sort of feeling other than the aesthetic.

"Thus I come to the unpleasant conclusion that life in America, however free, however comfortable, however advantageous it may be, lacks one chief element to give it a genuinely human and worthy character, namely that it lacks the romantic element almost entirely, and that it will hardly ever attain it. In their restless striving the American people seek only those things which are of temporary benefit.

"It is not the feeling of disappointment, discouragement and discomfort, for in this respect the author has no cause for complaint,—it is rather the desire to depict faithfully the shady sides beside the many bright sides which life presents in this new hemisphere, which induced him to make the above remarks. They are the result of several years of study and observation in an environment not too limited and an acquaintance not too circumscribed.

"Where Germans settle in larger numbers, they supply this lacking element to a certain extent. I doubt, however, whether this will have a lasting or incisive influence upon the whole. Our children, lacking our memories of other conditions and places, growing up in an environment in which everything tends toward the practical, intermarrying with the representatives of other races, will feel this lack less keenly than we, moreover, they will be without the means to render any material aid in altering this condition. Everything, so it seems to me, will be carried away by the current, utility."

In the now very rare old journal, *Das Westland**, published in 1837, a journal which was intended to correct many misapprehensions regarding America among the readers in Germany, and which was to offset books notoriously in-

*The full title of this interesting old journal, for the loan of which I am indebted to Miss Bella Steuernagel of the Public Library of Belleville, Ill., is "*Das Westland, nordamerikanische Zeitschrift fuer Deutschland*," (*The Westland, a North American Journal for Germany*), published by Dr. George Engelmann and Captain C. Neyfeld in St. Louis, printed in Heidelberg by Joseph Engelmann, 1837. Only three numbers of this fascinating periodical appeared. There were not enough subscribers to make the undertaking profitable.

accurate and misleading, there appeared on pages 348 to 369 of the only volume of this periodical an article by Frederick Muench. It deals with "The various kinds of soil that are found in Missouri, their natural products and the uses to which they are put."

The article is written in the clear, interesting style of Mr. Muench. Parts of it throw light on some of the practices of the early Missourians and deserve incorporation here. Mr. Muench does not attempt the impossible task of giving an exhaustive treatise of the theme. He was in no position to do so. He had neither the time nor the training for such a survey. He simply gives a description of the land seen by him in Missouri. The whole is conceived as a guide to prospective land buyers who are ignorant of land values. The trees, grasses and other vegetation constituted for the early settlers the index regarding the fertility of the soil.

Mr. Muench takes his reader on an imaginary journey. Starting from the vicinity of Washington, Missouri, he takes him north over the old Troy road to Troy, which he calls "a rapidly growing town on the prairie," and from there to the Mississippi. He tells us that by going over this distance of thirty-six to forty miles, and having crossed the watershed between the Missouri and the Mississippi one would have seen most of the important kinds of soil that occur in Missouri. Then he enters into a description of the land in the big river bottoms, the creek bottoms, the hilly land and finally prairie land. Most of these divisions he subdivides into several subsections, according to the quality of the soil. In each instance he enumerates all the advantages and disadvantages of each division and describes the trees, shrubs and grasses that each produces. The enumeration of the use the pioneers made of some of these products will interest us here. We shall not rehearse Muench's statement concerning the nature of the various kinds of soil, nor shall we make a catalog of all the plants he gives. We shall attempt to give only what seems to have historical interest.

Regarding the bottom north of Washington, on the left bank of the Missouri, he makes the following interesting

historical statement: "It (the bottom) is called Hancock's bottom, after one of the earliest settlers. On account of the old Spanish land claims, this land, tho among the richest in the state, has not been as well settled as the adjacent neighborhood."

Incidentally Muench takes exception to some statements found in Duden's "Report." Though on the whole favorable to Duden, he is conscious that at times that gentleman wrote with too florid a pen. We read in a footnote: "I shall be obliged to differ from Duden at times in my communications. However much I value his well known book, and share the writer's views and intentions in the main, I can not defend him entirely against the accusation and reproach, that his book has led to unwarranted expectations regarding the western part of America, and thus has given rise to the saddest disappointments and disillusionments. Although a landowner, Duden was in reality only a spectator. He did not exert himself in the performance of any of the duties of an American profession or trade. He did not realize that many tasks performed with such apparent ease by the sturdy backwoodsmen are in reality extremely difficult unless one has been trained for such duties from early youth.—Duden seems to have been of an excitable temperament.—It is a pity that he did not subject his later editions of the "Report" to rigid correction and careful revision. He could have gotten the facts through correspondence with acquaintances here. Many of the statements in his recent edition, for example regarding the price of land, livestock, building materials, wages, extent of settlements and political conditions, must be regarded as antiquated even now (1837). His own tract of land is about the only land that still lies waste in this neighborhood. All around it busy hands are bringing about transformations. In letter 15 he speaks of eight settlements in the Lake creek region. He could now count four times eight. The writer of these lines feels himself so much the more justified to make these remarks, since he as a resident nearest to Duden's land is acquainted in the same circles of society in which Duden moved, and since he for several years has applied all his

energy and time to wresting a Missouri farm from the wilderness."⁴

Regarding the native products of the bottom lands and the uses the settlers made of them, we hear among other things, that the cottonwood trees frequently attained a diameter of six feet, that the soft, light wood was used for fence-rails, that the gigantic trunks were sometimes hollowed out for canoes and troughs, that in the absence of cork the bark of the cottonwood was used for bottle stoppers, that young trees were sometimes felled in winter, so that horses and cattle might feed upon the succulent twigs and the bark.—The sycamore is described as the largest tree that grows in the river bottoms. Its wood is described as tough and hard to split, for which reason discs were sometimes cut from large trunks and used as wheels of crude carts which were called 'trucks.' Hollow sycamore trunks were sometimes sawed off in four or five foot lengths, supplied with tops and bottoms, and used to store grain and other things.—The hollow trunks of the white elm were especially sought for bee hives.—From the tough bark of the papaw they made ropes.—The wood of the soft maple was used to make chairs, bedsteads and yokes. The honey locust supplied material not only for posts and fence rails but also for ship building.—The black walnut, which grew to gigantic size was used for fence rails and for furniture.—The white oak is called America's most useful tree. Its wood furnished material not only for fencing and building, but also for wagon making, barrel making and basket making.

Speaking of the clearing of the bottom lands the author states that it is easier to clear bottom land than upland, for the reason that the former does not have so much underbrush. The clearing was accomplished by felling of the smaller trees and by girdling of the larger ones. To quote from Muench: "A field thus cleared still requires much work

⁴Frederick Schake writes in "Deutscher Pionier," p. 446, Vol. VI, that upon his return from America Duden lived alternately in Bonn and in Remscheid where he died on October 29, 1855. When the heirs of Duden offered his estate for sale, Fr. Muench urged the establishment of a Duden Institute on his old farms. This suggestion found no favor, however.

each season for more than a dozen years. The dead trees in time fall down, whereby the crop occasionally suffers considerably. The cutting up of the dead trees and the rolling together of the huge trunks, and even the burning of them is by no means as easy as Duden would have it appear. Perfectly dry trunks, especially those of the oak can be burned through by piling on of brands. This is called 'niggering,' because it is the favorite method used by the negroes. This method can not be used successfully, however, if the trunks are wet or rotten. In case of the linden and the sycamore this method does not work at all. Dry hickory trees and some other varieties, once lighted, burn up entirely, leaving only a strip of ashes where they have lain.

Passing from the river bottom the author takes the imaginary traveler to the creek bottoms. Here he enters the domain where Duden once lived on Lake creek. We read: "The place where Duden's cabin is, is well chosen, though it is not on a highway. His land consists in part of good bottom land, which is, however, badly cut up by Lake creek and its tributaries, as also by some swampy places. The remaining part of his possession is good high land, but too much cut up by ravines to make good continuous fields. The insignificant buildings are very much dilapidated. The one-time small field hardly shows a trace of earlier cultivation. The numerous visitors who have come to view the place have been greatly disappointed. Among the Americans living here Duden is still held in high esteem, and they often ask whether he would not come back soon."

Among the trees of the creek bottoms Muench mentions among others the sugar maple. Its wood was used for all conceivable purposes including the making of charcoal. Of most value, however, was the sugar contained in the sap. In favorable seasons the settlers produced from three to ten pounds of sugar from one tree. This is remarkable when one considers that eight gallons of sap were necessary to produce one pound of sugar. The evaporating was done in large kettles, and the boiling was kept up day and night. The collecting and the evaporating of the sap is described as hard

work, especially when it was interrupted by inclement weather. It is the habit of the sugar maple to grow in clumps. Such clumps were usually selected in which 100 to 300 trees stood relatively close together. With diligence and sufficient help it was possible to produce considerable quantities of sugar. One family, not far from Muench's place, during five weeks of labor, produced 1,200 pounds of sugar, valued at \$150.00. However, 200 to 300 pounds were considered a good harvest. Most of the sugar thus produced was consumed in the household. The sap boiled down to a thick syrup was considered a delicacy, and is described as similar to the taste of honey. The quality of the solid sugar is said to have surpassed by far the common unrefined cane sugar as it ordinarily came upon the market in those times. Maple sugar took the place of confection among the Americans. They used it very extravagantly. They said: "It is good to sit down and eat it."

Muench states that the presence of the white walnut tree is a sure sign that the land on which it grows is well suited for a homestead. "It grows only on soil which is just the kind one is looking for, rich, neither too dry nor too wet, growing upon deep humus without gravel."—The sap is also sugar containing, but sugar made from it acts as a purgative, just as the walnut bark does.—The linden tree, used for all sorts of things, was a sign of good soil.

Of the sumach we are told that the Indians mixed the dry leaves with their smoking tobacco. They called it kinickinic.* Small wild onions, having the taste of garlic, abounded.—Of the ladies-tongue, plantain and the orache (commonly called mountain spinach) the early settlers made greens.—The author speaks of the value and the lasting character of the wood of the mulberry tree. He says that the fruit was highly prized by the pioneers, but because it was

*Dr. O. G. Libby, U. of No. Dak., an authority on Indian lore, doubts whether the southern Indians had this word in their own language. He is inclined to think they borrowed it from the northern tribes. The word is a Chippewa word. They designate the dried bark of the red dogwood by this term. The bark was smoked. It produces dizziness. A very elaborate legend is connected with kinickinic and its use.

rather difficult to pick, the fruit-laden trees were cut down to make the gathering of the fruit easier.

Muench found several varieties of grapes. One producing small, tolerably sweet fruit grew especially on soil rich in lime. In the river bottoms were grapes the vines of which attained a thickness of more than six inches. Their fruit is dark blue. These vines were a source of great annoyance to the pioneers, because they hindered the felling of trees. Sometimes the tops of many trees and bushes were tightly interlocked by the vines, preventing the falling of the trees and in the end entwining the whole in a mass that defied disentangling. He speaks of single vines more than thirty paces long, having the thickness of a cane and being used as permanent clothes lines.

He mentions the spice root whose twigs were used to make a wholesome tea, and whose roots to make bitters. The spice root growing on the uplands are described as being more spicy than those of the lowlands. Of the branches of the button-wood bush the settlers made pipe stems. The leatherwood furnished long roots from which were made ropes which are said to have surpassed hempen ropes in strength.

The interesting story is left uncompleted. The magazine in which it was printed was discontinued because of lack of support. Muench's remarks regarding the prairie are lost to us.

It is extremely difficult to record Muench's fascinating story entirely chronologically. We must therefore ask our readers to forget the last two paragraphs for the moment and go back with us to the beginning of Muench's residence in Missouri in order that we may become acquainted with the people with whom he associated. This we find in Muench's article entitled 'The Duden Settlement in Missouri,' recorded in 'Der Deutsche Pionier,' Vol. II, p. 197 ff, September and October, 1870.

We read: "Duden had come to St. Louis, and since he and his companion (Eversmann) wished to become land-owners they were directed to the surveyor, Major Boone,

the son of Daniel Boone, who lived in the valley of the Femme Osage, about sixty miles west of St. Louis. The trip to Boone's place was found easily enough. On the return trip, however, the inexperienced horsemen lost their way. They had gone too far west. Darkness overtook them in the woods and they were glad when at length they saw, from the top of a hill, a welcoming light in the valley below. Their fate had brought them to the door of Jacob Hahn's cabin. This man was of Pennsylvania German stock, who lived on that farm which Paul Follenius later bought, and on which he (Follenius) lies buried. Hahn received the strangers hospitably. This shrewd Missourian recognized that he might 'make' something off these men. He persuaded them to buy some land in his immediate neighborhood, and agreed to shelter and feed them on his place till they should have established themselves on their own land. The wretched log cabin which was erected on Duden's farm stood until a few years ago. The more commodious house which Duden started to build and of which he tells us in his "Report" was never finished.—It is therefore clear that mere chance decreed where the Duden settlement should be.

"Several hundred emigrants, trusting the words of Duden, had started on the ocean journey west, when Paul Follenius and myself decided to organize the Gieszen Emigration Society. As was already shown this organization scattered before it reached St. Louis. Its members wandered hither and thither, singly or in groups. Bunsen from Frankfurt and several families from Saxony went to Belleville, Illinois, Doctor Engelbach to Beardstown in Illinois, Kroell (later for a long time clergyman in Cincinnati), as also Bruehl and Flach went to Cape Girardeau, the family Krug to St. Charles county, Missouri, Professor David Goebel to Franklin county. Several stayed in and about St. Louis. The leaders of the ill-fated Gieszen Society and several families from Hessa and Saxony went directly to that place where Duden had lived and dreamed, and bought land in the immediate neighborhood of his farm. Upon arriving here we found a considerable number of peasants from Westphalia, also the so-

called 'Berlin Society,' a few settlers from Oldenburg, among them Count Bentink, and other 'Latin farmers,' and some honest-to-goodness farmers, most of whom had arrived the previous year. It was a strange mixture of poverty and energy, of various degrees of education and culture, more or less adventurous, with a firm resolve to succeed. During the next few years several more families came to our settlement: George Muench, Martin Muench, Ludwig Muench, Gustav Muench, moreover, Barez and Grabs from Berlin, Fuhr from Homberg on the Ohm and others. With this the settlement, for the time being was closed, partly because German immigration had generally slackened, for Duden's dream had vanished, partly due to the fact that immigrants sought out the cities more and more, especially St. Louis which now began to grow rapidly, partly, too, on account of the growing institution of slavery, which induced the main current of German immigration to pass Missouri and pour itself into the free states of Illinois and Indiana, or to turn to the newly admitted states of Iowa and Wisconsin.

"In the course of a generation Duden's dream has, after all, become reality, and also the ideals of the founders of the Gieszen Emigration Society, to establish a new German environment in this western part of the Union has been fulfilled, though in a manner such as we had not anticipated or dreamed. By internal increase and by additions from the outside Duden's settlement has grown, so that it now (1870) constitutes the geographic center of a German population extending over four or five counties. The central point of this settlement is the little town of Dutzow, situated in the southeast corner of Warren county, three miles north of the Missouri river, and fifty-six miles west of St. Louis. The population of Warren county is nine-tenths German. Adjoining it on the east is St. Charles county, which is two-thirds German. Within its borders are the all-German towns: Femme Osage, New Melle, Augusta, Cottleville, and Wenzville, while the city of St. Charles is three-fourths German. Opposite these two counties, on the south side of the Missouri is Franklin county, more than half German. A little

further west is Gasconade county, three-fourths German. Into Montgomery, Osage and Lincoln counties the German pioneers also penetrate irresistibly.

"It is now my purpose to name the families who participated prominently in the founding of the Duden Settlement. I wish that their names should not fall into oblivion. In doing so I shall confine myself roughly to a circuit with a radius of six miles about Dutzow.

"Louis Eversmann, Duden's traveling companion, was already quite anglicized when we came here. Subsequently he became somewhat germanized again, but continued to be a slaveholder to his end. He died a short while before the Civil War, on the same farm which he himself had cleared. After his death his family moved to Saline county.

"William Bock was formerly a wealthy estate owner in Mecklenburg. He was a well educated and cultured gentleman, who, however, did not fit into the conditions that obtained in Missouri in those days. He it was who named the little town of Dutzow after his estate in Europe. He died at a ripe old age a few years ago. His wife who was a lady of fine culture and breeding died before him. She never could feel at home in the primitive environment into which she was thrust. Three of their children are yet alive, and there are many grandchildren and great grandchildren.

"Mr. von Martels came here with three or four sons from Hanover. The old gentleman died a long time ago. One son was scalped by the Indians in Texas. What became of the others is not known here.*

"The so-called 'Berlin Society,' which for a while conducted a sort of communistic organization here, consisted of Bock's two sons-in-law,—one Radje, who died a long time ago, and Frederick Morsey, who later settled in Warrenton and practiced law there, the two brothers Bluemner, of whom the elder died in California, the younger in Santa Fe,

*In an earlier chapter of "The Followers of Duden" the letter of Heinrich von Martels was printed. Something of his life and his literary and journalistic work there was given. H. von Martels was the son of the man Muench speaks of here.

the two brothers Huttawa, who came from Poland, of these the elder died long ago, while the younger is a lithographer in St. Louis, the Swede named Walke, a splendid man esteemed by all, who passed away thirty years ago, leaving behind two daughters, finally a man named Plate, who with his splendid son came from Hamburg. They, too, died long since.

"Dr. Edward Simon from Hamburg was a man of rare gifts, splendid scientific attainment and most humane feelings. He conceived that his life here was a failure, participated in one of the trade expeditions under Sutter to Santa Fe, went to Mazatlan on the Gulf of California where he died, presumably under pitiable circumstances. His wife and only son still live in this region.

"Count Bentink from Oldenburg at first farmed and then operated a mill driven by water power, both without success. He died two years ago in the neighborhood of St. Louis. Mrs. Bentink, a lady of fine culture returned with her daughters to Germany. Her son of late manages an apothecary business in St. Louis.

"Two brothers Krueger from Hamburg. The younger married Ratje widow. He was accidentally killed in Louisville, leaving several daughters. The elder Krueger still lives in Washington, Missouri, as apothecary and notary public.

"August Mueller from Hanau, a former lieutenant in the German army, as a widower married a daughter of William Bock, farmed with indifferent success, and died of an accidental injury in Santa Fe, leaving a widow and several daughters and one son, all of whom are married.

"Fr. Rasmus from Brake in Oldenburg, a student of law, bought a very good farm near Marthasville which he tilled diligently and well. He was chosen justice of the peace but died all too early of typhoid fever during the year of the great Missouri flood, 1844. His widow married an American. The eldest son of Rasmus shot and killed his stepfather in the court room for an offense, and was subsequently judged 'not guilty'.

"Paul Follenius* has been discussed in another part of this article.

"Three brothers Hospes from Hessia. One had been a preacher and another a forester in the old country. The three cultivated a farm with little success, but they were the greatest deer hunters in the whole community. The youngest of them became a superintendent of a sawmill in northern Minnesota. The elder one had a business in St. Louis where he was killed in an accident. The second one also died long ago.

"Three brothers Mallinkrodt† together with three of their cousins came from Dortmund. Of the latter one still lives in St. Louis well known and wealthy. Of the former two still are engaged in farming on their valuable farm near Augusta. The proposed town of Dortmund, the site of which was staked out on the banks of the Missouri by Julius Mallinkrodt was never built. Of late the site has become a corn field again.

"Dahmer from Hirschfeld in Hessia has for years operated a brewery in St. Louis.

"Christian Koch and his brother Doctor Koch came from Hessia. The former still lives on his farm near Augusta as farmer, brewer, and producer of fine grapes. Doctor Koch has lived in Franklin county for a long time.

"Two other brothers Koch from Hessia. One of these still lives in Augusta.

"Three brothers Muhm from Hanau. None of them are living now. Their children and grandchildren are still here.

"Schiefer from Gieszen died long ago. He is survived by his widow, two sons and one daughter.

"Henry Schaaf, a miller from Osnabrueck, established at first a small horse-driven mill and then a larger treadmill and later a splendidly arranged steam-driven mill in a little valley three miles north of Dutzow. A few years ago he

*Paul Follenius will be considered more at length in a subsequent article.

†The founder of the famous Mallinkrodt Chemical Works of St. Louis descended from one of these Followers of Duden. See Edward Mallinkrodt in "Who's Who," Vol. 12.

built a yet larger mill in Augusta, where he, and his wife still live, surrounded by children and children's children. (Twelve of his grandchildren are at the same time my grandchildren.) Few immigrants had a harder beginning in this country and few have known how to work themselves up with equal energy.

"Krekel from the lower Rhine died on his farm as a very old man. One of his sons is the United States District Judge Arnold Krekel of Jefferson City. He began his career by splitting fence rails for a neighbor at fifty cents a hundred.

"Deus from the lower Rhine, a highly respected man, successfully managed his farm and operated a brewery. He met his death in an attempt to extinguish a fire that was threatening the fence around his vineyard. His widow still lives with one of her sons-in-law. His two sons have settled in New Mexico.

"Wiemer from Westphalia farmed for a while. In St. Louis, where he had moved, he was killed by lightning.

"Reck came here with Follenius and still lives as a very old bachelor on his little farm.

"Doctor Frederick Krug from Bavaria came here with the Gieszen Society. Managed a small farm for many years and was the main physician in this community. Twelve years ago he died accidentally when his conveyance upset near Augusta. His only son also died soon thereafter. His three daughters with a large progeny still live. The younger two have recently gone back to Germany.

"Two brothers Kunze from Goettingen came with abundant means. They laid out a splendid farm which they cultivated with great energy. The elder one, a most capable man, contracted tuberculosis, perhaps due to overexertion, and died. The younger brother returned to Germany.

"Gustav Eulenstein, a brother-in-law of Dr. Krug was killed accidentally.

"H. Becker from Niedergemuenden was brought up on a farm. He became the most successful farmer of our community, though he came with small means. He had become a wealthy man, when fifteen years ago he died of typhoid

fever. Four of his children are still living, as also many grandchildren and great grandchildren.

"Two brothers Meyer from Westphalia became farmers here. The younger, Karl, died of a stroke of paralysis. The older, Louis, is still living. Both have many descendants.

"Four brothers Schulz from Kassel. Two of them died much too early. The other two are highly respected farmers and fathers of families.

"Goltermann from near Magdeburg carried on farming with slave labor. He died many years ago. His widow is still living with one of his sons on the original farm.

"Jonathan Kunze, a cabinet maker from Altenburg, came as a member of the Gieszen Society managed his farm and at the same time his trade with great diligence. A few months ago he died of a stroke of paralysis with the plow-handles in his hand. He left a large family in comfortable circumstances. There are few people more capable and more faithful than he was.

"Hermann Garlichs, philologist from Bremen, went back to Germany to be ordained, and upon his return founded the orthodox Evangelical congregation in the little village of Femme Osage, three miles east of Dutzow in St. Charles county. He served his people for a long time as pastor, then moved to Brooklyn where he died.

"Two cousins named Kuenzel, wealthy farmers from Saxony, bought a large tract of land in the rich Missouri bottom, which they cultivated in the American manner with slave labor. Both died years ago leaving families behind.

"Two brothers Spannhaus from Berlin, mechanics, cleared a small farm near Augusta, on which one of them still lives and which he cultivates and in addition raises fruit and grapes.

"Wencker from Dortmund started a fine tannery which he operated. Then he moved to Quincy, Illinois, where he and his wife died of the cholera. His children are doing well.

"Spankern, from the lower Rhine, descended from a noble family. Here he operated a tannery and had a loan office. He died ten years ago, leaving his estate to his widow.

"Karl Winkelmeier from Heilbronn is a successful farmer and also raises grapes near Marthasville.

"Two brothers Eberius from Saxony built the first house in the town of Washington (Mo.), and carried on a mercantile business. The older one died long ago. The younger one died two years ago, after he had erected a sawmill which is driven by steam.

"Fricke from Kassel was the second person who built a house in Washington. At first he kept a harness shop. Later he opened a hotel and is still engaged in the hotel business.

"Professor David Goebel from Coburg, a member of the Gieszen Society, bought a piece of land six miles west of Washington, which he and his son farmed. Being little fitted for such hard work, he went to St. Louis where he taught and lectured. As an old man of eighty, having become tired of America, he returned to Germany where he still lives.

"It is difficult to decide where to stop. I have not mentioned half of the settlers who gathered about Duden's former place in and prior to 1834. I will mention only a few of the more prominent families who came during the following years, but must pass over the names of many who came later as also those of recent times.

"George Muench, my younger brother, was a preacher, a teacher, and besides was endowed with a rare talent for mechanics. He established himself not only as farmer but also as gunsmith. For ten years he has now lived in Augusta where he pursues his regular work and with the aid of his sons takes care of a vineyard.

"With my brother George came his brother-in-law Karl Strack who for years has been preaching and farming near Warrenton.

"Henry Mueller, a peasant boy from Hessia, whom my brother instructed in mechanical things, and who then wandered westward till he came to Chihuahua, where he assumed the management of the Mexican mint, and in time

became one of the wealthiest and most respected men of that state.

"William Barez, of Huguenot extraction, who had been a banker in Berlin was carried by fate to the banks of Lake Creek. He bought a valuable piece of land. He followed Duden's suggestion and bought slaves and with them tilled his land in an exemplary manner. He treated his slaves almost as if they were his children, and after he had lost both his sons, he set his slaves free, even before the outbreak of the rebellion. Thereupon, being in good pecuniary circumstances, he retired to Dutzow and later to Holstein, where he, an eighty year old man, still pursues intellectual work.

"August Grabs from Silesia had formerly been employed in the business house of Barez. He first tried farming with indifferent success. Then he undertook a mercantile business in Marthasville. He was repeatedly chosen as justice of the peace. He died during the rebellion, toward which he assumed an attitude which the majority of us did not sanction.

"Paul Schmidt from Hessia bought a farm during the early days near Holstein, but he lived most of the time in Lexington, Kentucky, where he was a teacher in a girls' school. Later he lived for several years on his farm here. During the four years of the rebellion he was sheriff of our county. After that he moved to Lexington where he still resides with three adult children.

"Heinrich Fuhr from Homberg on the Oder farmed in our neighborhood, and also had a shoemaker's shop. He died some fifteen years ago leaving five sons and many grandchildren.

"Three brothers Linsz from Darmstadt. They are still living, but live in widely scattered localities now. The second, Karl, lives in this neighborhood, the older one, George, in Kansas, the youngest, Frederick, is a horticulturist in Ohio.

"George Busch had a successful shoe business in Bielefeld. He left the fatherland to escape the oppressive political conditions. Suffered great losses and arrived here with scant means. Four miles west of Washington he bought a piece

of land. Few of our immigrants of that time can boast of better success than he has had. He is still active, though seventy-five years old, and is happy in the midst of his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

"Doctor Ruge was born in Holstein, Germany. When he and his family came up the Mississippi they narrowly escaped with their lives, when the boiler of the boat on which they were, exploded. He first bought land near Washington. Then he practiced medicine in Dutzow and had an extensive practice. Later he moved to Holstein, (Mo.), where he, an old man of seventy, is still following his calling.

"All those whom I have named and many more I have known from the beginning, and lived then and live now with many of them in the friendliest relations. Of the so-called 'Latin Farmers' who for a time lived here a partly adventurous and easy going life, only a small remnant remains, very much sobered and ready to leave the field to the younger generation. I myself, surrounded by the children and children's children of the old pioneers, appear to myself like an old oak, battered and scarred by many a storm, with a few green branches towering up, recognizable from afar, while the old trunk is surrounded by a rich and flourishing undergrowth."

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Is life too full these days to leave time for reading? Some apologists say that it is, although they admit no lessening of interest in bridge, mah jong, and the radio, or lack of enthusiasm in the recreational habits of motoring, traveling, and golfing. Even in reading, popular fiction is absorbed in every increasing quantity. "There is plenty of time for anything that interests us."

The truth may lie in this,—the uneducated have never become interested in good reading, the cultured have lost much of their interest. In the monthly *Almanac* of the Princeton University Press (December, 1923) appears this remark "—in our opinion it is true that college graduates, recent ones anyway, do not read books, —. It is a well known fact that people read more between the ages of ten and fourteen than at any other time. Or to put it another way they read voraciously as soon as they become proficient, and they begin to lose their love for reading about the time they begin their college preparation.—We remember a remark credited to Mark Twain while engaged in an attempt to read George Eliot. He said she 'analyzed the guts out of people,' and it has seemed to us that teachers sometimes did the same thing for the books their classes are required to read."

This explanation may have merit. I have been impressed with the greater interest in history, literature, and government, shown by college graduates of two or more decades past than by those of the last ten or fifteen years. A change in grade and high school teaching methods may account for the difference in interest. May not this difference be also partly explained on the basis of age? May it not be due in part to the recent rapid increase in the forms of amusement? May not the widespread prosperity of our people, who now are able to possess, and frequently afford, the new pleasures, have contributed to this change? I have observed

that despite the assertions of many interpreters of our civilization, our problems are *not easily* explained or solved. We are sometimes forced "to analyze the guts out" of things to be accurate. Fundamental values are still fundamental but other values of worth have also to be considered these days.

It is so easy to generalize and so difficult to be accurate. Some maintain that history is interesting, others that it is dull; I have found it both. The same work, even article, is frequently uneven in being readable. Many of the most interesting chapters in some historical compilations are without value to a general reader, other chapters, dull and detailed, are invaluable in subject matter. If works supposedly unified are so uneven, then it is reasonable to find different works differing greatly in interest and value. To label an article "history" may classify it, but little more than this has been accomplished. It might be of some interest to record the letters received from readers of the *Review*. Some laud Edwards' writings, some find nothing in them. As in all other matters of interest to people, history varies in interest and value and the followers of it vary in taste.

At Harvard, English literature stands at the head of the eight most popular subjects for special concentration. Next in order come economics, Romance languages, chemistry, history, government, mathematics and a combination of history and literature.

Most important, of course, is history. If you don't know the past you can't understand what happens in the present, or make any sound plans for the future. Plato would have written above the door of Knowledge, in his day:

"Let only those that know geometry enter here."

In our day for "geometry" put "history." Arthur Brisbane.

The dangers in using history as a guide lie in lack of full knowledge of the past, in failure to reason accurately, and in ignorance of unknown, even new, developments. The first two can be remedied, for the third allowance must be made even if it can be represented only with an X. Despite these dangers, one is certainly foolish who ignores the lessons of history in his calculations. Running through Missouri history is conservatism. You expect and you will find such results as these: slow but solid development; strong party

alignment, and failure of third party efforts; faith in the old until proven false or unworkable; sound money and banking; relatively poor response to booms and depressions. Immigration has and is modifying this conservatism, so is education, travel, and the development of transportation, communication, and cities, but these factors are also part of history and are considered by the careful reader of history. How many in speaking today of land values in Missouri in the boom of 1919 and 1920, remember or try to remember data on this subject prior to 1913 or 1914? Such data is valuable and may prove to be significant. For example, the Rural Life Department, Professor O. R. Johnson, chairman, under the direction of the Missouri State Agriculture Experiment Station has been conducting a research investigation of land values in Missouri in the same representative townships in six Missouri counties during the last century. In 1820 and 1821 the per acre sale price in one county was \$3.08; 1830-31, \$3.88; 1840-41, \$6.23; 1850-51, \$6.44; 1860-61, \$12.26; 1868-69, \$15.79; 1870-71, \$15.08; 1872-73, \$16.10; 1880-81, \$11.92; 1890-91, \$15.77; 1900-01, \$24.95; 1910-11, \$52.70; 1912-13, \$45.80; 1914-15, \$49.90; 1918-19, \$85.78; 1920-21, \$96.38; 1920, \$112.77. Should one in 1924 go no farther back than 1913 or 1914? Obviously the figures from 1890 to 1910 are also of value.

It is at times amusing to hear history spoken of as an affinity of the old and musty. How few who so regard it know anything about it? In fact how few of all of us know much about history? There is more unknown in the history of an American state than has yet been brought to light. It would be no exaggeration to declare that no living man has really digested the history contained in the fifty-year file of any important Missouri newspaper. And Missouri has had hundreds of newspapers, some founded over a century past! The new that lies in Missouri history is more than what even the best historian knows today. For those who systematically follow Missouri history as an avocation, at least 90% of what is reproduced in the *Review* is new. History deals with the past records of the race but the story it tells is not

an old one to our generation. The human element, the comedy and tragedy of life, the logical conclusion, the climax, and the surprise, are all present. History should interest people today. I wonder if either the people or the historians are blameless when history is in disfavor.

APPRECIATION

As I perused the valuable contents of the January, 1924, issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* the idea was impressed upon my mind that those who originated the movement for The State Historical Society, builded better than they dreamed. I think the Society has surpassed their fondest visions. It is piling up a store of facts, a mass of information and literature which will be invaluable in the future. Then the *Review* is a rare treat—yes, a delight to those interested in the grand old state, its people and institutions. And to think that all this is open to one, spread out for his education and satisfaction, simply by becoming a member of the Society and paying \$1.00 per year. If people only knew they would crowd in rapidly. The Historical Notes and Comments is a storehouse of information not to be found elsewhere. It is worth many times the cost of membership. I do not know how many members the Society has, but they ought to be numbered by the hundreds of thousand. Is there not some way to let all Missourians know what the *Review* contains? If there is anything I can do to help the State Historical Society let me know.—W. O. L. Jewett, Shelbina, Missouri, March 14, 1924.

I shall be grateful for any trouble that you take in making sure that *The Missouri Historical Review* reaches me, as I read it with intense interest.—Rupert Hughes, Los Angeles, California, April 16, 1924.

I have enjoyed every article in *The Missouri Historical Review*. It is truly a great work, and I am looking forward with much pleasure to the fund of valuable information in the coming numbers.—Mrs. Jack Freeman, Rolla, Missouri, March 24, 1924.

The Review arrived this morning, and I, according to old custom, started to read it at once. I was delighted by the two first articles. That is as far as I came today. But I hasten to tell you how much I appreciated the scholarship evinced in both. In the article on the "Test Oath" I have but one fault to find. The name of the Bishop of St. Louis is Peter Richard Kenrick, not Kendrick, the latter form of the name belongs to a distinguished Protestant bishop who was not concerned in the matter of the oath. The whole question is one of deep interest, and Barclay's handling of it is excellent.

M. M. Brashear's article on Missouri Verse and Verse-Makers, comes home to me with a strong appeal. Being a native Missourian and verse-writer in both English and German, I feel the kinship with the men and women praised in the article. Of course, you have my three volumes of

English verse in the Historical Library. I would, however, send Miss Brashear extra copies of "Heliotrope," "Songs and Sonnets" and "The Garland of Praise." I would be much pleased if you would hand the books to Miss Brashear, and offer her my best compliments on the work she is doing. I myself will shortly publish an essay of some length on the Catholic Press in St. Louis during the last 70 years.—John Rothensteiner, St. Louis, Missouri, May 5, 1924.

I hand you herewith my check for one dollar, to set forward the date of my subscription to *The Missouri Historical Review*. I am finding it very necessary to retrench along many lines, but can not do without the *Review*. The January, 1924, issue is well worth the price of a year's subscription. If I were back in Missouri it would be a pleasure for me to secure a number of new subscribers. I shall eagerly await the coming of each copy during the coming year.—P. T. Harman, Lynchburg, Virginia, March 4, 1924.

I have read with some interest, in the April number of the *Review*, the article by M. M. Brashear, on "Missouri Verse and Verse Makers," particularly that part referring to Mrs. Doneghy, of Kirksville.

For the information of the writer, I thought I would write you that Mrs. Doneghy was my aunt, my mother's sister. Her name was not Mary, but Mattie (Martha Williams Prewitt) and she signed her name M. W. P. Doneghy.

Mary Prewitt (Mary Trimble Prewitt) was a sister, and she also taught (mathematics) in the Kirksville Normal, for quite a number of years, later going to Warrensburg and then to California. She is now living in Boston, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Doneghy died about three years ago, at Kirksville. This is a very interesting number, carrying as it does the article on Judge Leonard, and also the one on Dr. Pritchett, a former Howard countian.—Lionel Davis, Fayette, Missouri, May 5, 1924.

We have been reading the April issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*. It is one of our best friends.—Earl T. Sechler, Republic, Missouri, May 10, 1924.

I find *The Missouri Historical Review* of so much interest that I do not wish to do without it. My copies are read each month, by from two to ten persons.—Miss Letitia I. Neeper, Kahoka, Missouri, March 21, 1924.

I am pleased with *The Missouri Historical Review*. Keep it coming. Every Missourian should read it.—C. W. Bowen, Brunswick, Missouri, March 20, 1924.

THE FULTON (MO.) TELEGRAPH

The State Historical Society has acquired another link in its chain of old Missouri newspapers. Messrs. J. W. and George P. Johnston, editors of the *Fulton (Mo.) Telegraph*

have donated to the Society two volumes of the *Telegraph* covering the years from 1848 to 1868. These volumes are not complete but the Society expects to be able to fill in the gaps either by obtaining separate copies or by photostating. The files will be repaired within the next year to insure their preservation. The twenty years covered by these files of the *Telegraph* are important ones in the history of Missouri. This fact makes these papers of special value to the research worker in history and biography. The donating of these papers by Messrs. Johnston of Fulton shows a true spirit of co-operation and is deeply appreciated by The State Historical Society of Missouri, its friends and patrons.

INTERESTING COLLECTION OF PICTURES

H. H. Banks, N. T. Gentry, W. O. Ellis, P. H. Henderson and Dennis Spelman, Trustees of the Boone county hospital, have secured pictures of the former physicians of Boone county, had them framed alike and the same will be placed in the physician's room in the county hospital. The name and residence of each physician is printed under his picture; and the same is not only intensely interesting but a worthy tribute to the memory of the older generation—the men who made possible the schools and hospitals of today.

HENRY CLAY DEAN

In "Historical Notes and Comments" in the *Review* for April, I read a communication from Charles C. Dean of Coatesville, Missouri, giving an extract from a speech by his father, Hon. Henry Clay Dean, at Petty's Mill, in 1882.

I had the pleasure of hearing that speech, the subject being "The Louisiana Purchase." It was a most remarkable oration, Henry Clay Dean being, by odds, the greatest speaker and historian in that whole territory.

After the speech, Mr. Dean asked me to visit him at his home the following afternoon, which I gladly did. On arriving at his house I found him copying the speech for the *Globe-Democrat*. I had hardly taken a seat till Mr. Dean

asked, "Do you read Byron?" I said, "Yes." "Well quote his tribute to Daniel Boone or tell me where to find it, as I am wanting to use it."

After cudgeling my brain soundly, I had to give it up much to my chagrin, and the great man's annoyance.

This occurred nearly 42 years ago, but when I read the communication I took down a copy of Byron and re-read the tribute in question. It begins at the 61st stanza of the eighth canto of "Don Juan." I quote the 61st stanza:

Of all men, saving Sylla the man slayer,
Who passes for in life and death most lucky,
Of the great names which in our faces stare,
The General Boone, back-woodsman of Kentucky,
Was happiest amongst mortals anywhere;
For killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
Enjoyed the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze, etc.

Some years ago, while standing by Byron's grave at Hucknall Torquard up in the Derbyshire Hills, I recalled the great and lovable Henry Clay Dean and my humiliating lapse of memory.—C. H. Magee, Burlington, Iowa, May 12, 1924.

THE WASHINGTON IRVING WALLACE MEMORIAL BUILDING

From *The Lebanon (Mo.) Rustic*, March 13, 1924.

Mrs. W. I. Wallace this week has given the sum of \$50,000 to erect a Senior High School building as a memorial to her husband, the late Judge Washington Irving Wallace. The Lebanon Board of Education is made the building commission, with Superintendent R. V. Cramer as advisor, and the building will be arranged to serve the needs of the whole community.

To a reporter for the *Rustic*, Mrs. Wallace said: "In giving the money for this building, I feel that I am carrying out the wishes of Mr. Wallace. We had talked of doing something in that way but had never decided just on a time to do

it. I believe if he were here he would say, 'Go ahead and give it.' In thinking of giving a memorial to him, I decided that it must fill three requirements. First, it be visible; second, it must be useful, and third, it must be durable."

MISSOURI, THE IRON STATE

CHARLES M. SCHWAB *Said*:

"The St. Louis territory should not be purchasing rails, locomotives, cars, or anything else in the way of steel or iron from eastern plants. Every ton of these products should be made right here at the base of consumption."

JAMES J. HILL *Said*:

"Some day northern Iron Ore and Illinois Coke will meet in St. Louis."

—that day has arrived!

The Mercantile Trust Company, St. Louis, has recently published a folio booklet titled "St. Louis The Coming Steel Iron and Metal Center—and why." It contains excellent articles on its subject by authoritative business men in St. Louis. The work is suggestive of the rapid evolution now taking place in the iron and steel industry centering around St. Louis. There seems strong probability of the coming primacy of St. Louis as one of, if not the leading, iron and steel centers in America. If this takes place it will be another illustration of how history repeats itself.

Missouri was the first state west of Ohio to produce and smelt iron ore. For thirty years, 1850-1880, she was an important factor in the iron world. Her Iron Mountain was nationally, even internationally, known. And there were Pilot Knob, Shepherd Mountain, Cedar Hill, Cherry Valley. Missouri production rapidly declined, with the opening of the Northern Ranges, in the '80s and Iron Mountain closed down in the early '90s. Thirty years followed with only a few having faith in the future of this Missouri industry.

In 1921 Illinois soft coal was successfully carbonized into metallurgical coke at Granite City by the St. Louis Coke & Iron Company. By combining Northern ore with 50% Missouri ore from Iron Mountain, it has been estimated that the freight cost at St. Louis of assembling five tons of material

necessary to make a ton of iron is \$5.82. The cost at Pittsburgh is \$8.59, at Gary \$8.89. This difference in assembling costs is \$2.77 a ton in favor of St. Louis over Pittsburgh and \$3.07 over Gary. In 1922 work began in reopening Iron Mountain. The rebirth of the iron industry in Missouri may result in important changes in various sections of the Ozark Plateau.

PERSONALS.

Oscar Andreen: Born at Norkoping, Sweden, August 13, 1851; died at Lexington, Missouri, April 14, 1924. When he came to America he made Lexington his home, and for fifteen years served as vice-consul for Scandanavian countries to the city of St. Louis.

M. E. Benton: Born in Obion county, Tennessee, January 29, 1847; died at Springfield, Missouri, April 28, 1924. He spent his young manhood in Tennessee, coming to Missouri a short time after his graduation from Cumberland University. He began the practice of law in Neosho, and eight years later joined the Confederate Army. Col. Benton served Newton county as prosecuting attorney for three terms, and as a member of the state legislature for one term. President Cleveland appointed him to the office of United States district attorney, which he held for one term. He then served the Fifteenth Congressional District of Missouri in Congress for eight years. His last public service was at the Constitutional Convention of 1923, to which he was a delegate.

Gerit H. Ten Broek: Born in St. Louis; died there April 18, 1924, at the age of 65. He was educated in the public schools of St. Louis and in the old St. Louis Law School, of which he was a graduate. He was the founder and editor of the *Mercantile Adjuster*; founder and former secretary of the Associated Law Offices, a national organization of commercial lawyers; former secretary of the St. Louis Protestant Hospital Association; and former director of the Western Society for the Suppression of Vice. He was also vice-

consul, and later consul, for the Netherlands to the states of the Southwest, including Missouri; and commissioner-general of the Netherlands to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, for which the Queen knighted him into the Order of Orange-Nassau. He led an active life until a short time before his death.

Herman Brumback: Born in Newark, Ohio, May 1, 1862; died in Kansas City, Missouri, April 25, 1924. He came to Kansas City in 1869, and was graduated from a Kansas City high school. He attended Hobart College, at Geneva, Wisconsin, and in 1887 entered the practice of law. For a time he served as a police judge in Kansas City, and later was made a judge of the circuit court, in which capacity he served for six years. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Enos Clarke: Born in Clairsville, Ohio, in 1835; died at Kirkwood, St. Louis county, Missouri, March 22, 1924. He was educated in the public schools of Ohio, and later at Madison University (now Colgate's) at Hamilton, New York, where he was graduated. After studying law at Utica, New York, he was admitted to the bar. Coming to St. Louis in 1861 he became a prominent attorney there during the Civil War, and was one of the "70 radical union men" who personally endorsed Lincoln in his emancipation move. He was a member of the Board of Curators of the University of Missouri; and of the famous 1865-67 session of the state legislature. In 1868 he was appointed to the office of registrar of bankruptcy in the United States District Court. He was a member of the Academy of Science, The State Historical Society of Missouri, and the American Bar Association.

Dr. James G. Clark: Born in Millwood, Clark county, Virginia, in 1837; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 18, 1924. Dr. Clark had been a member of the faculty of William Jewell College since 1873. At the age of 17 he entered the University of Virginia, and in 1857 became an instructor there. He was later professor of mathematics at Columbian College

(now George Washington University) at Washington, D. C. During the Civil War he resigned this position to join the Confederate Army, from which he was discharged as a captain of the artillery. In 1873, he came to William Jewell College as professor of mathematics and French. Since 1909, when he was made a professor emeritus he has been active secretary of the faculty, and registrar of the college.

Matt J. Conran: Born in New Madrid, Missouri, May 24, 1869; died in Baltimore, Maryland, November 22, 1923. He was educated in the public schools of his native county. Later, he was made alderman, and mayor, successively, of New Madrid. For two terms he served New Madrid county in the state legislature.

David Patterson Dyer: Born in Henry county, Virginia, February 12, 1838; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 29, 1924. When he was a child his parents came to Missouri and settled in Lincoln county. After receiving a common school education he taught school in Pike county, and took up the study of law. Seven years later he was admitted to the bar, and in 1860 he was elected prosecuting attorney of a district comprising five counties. During the Civil War he was a colonel in the Union Army. He served as a member of the state legislature from 1862-66, and in 1868 was elected to Congress, where he served for one term. President Grant appointed him United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri, and he held this office for a year. In 1880 he retired from politics after being defeated in the race for governor. President Roosevelt returned him to the office of District Attorney, 1902-06, and in 1907 he was made Federal Judge for the Eastern District. He held this office until his retirement in 1918. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Alexander A. Lesueur: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, died in Burbank, California, January 16, 1924. He was graduated from St. Louis University in 1858, and engaged in business until the Civil War. He enlisted in the Con-

federate Army and attained the rank of captain before the end of the war. He went to Lafayette county where he edited the Lexington *Intelligencer* for a time. He was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1882, and later served as the representative of his county in the state legislature. For three terms prior to 1896 he was secretary of the state of Missouri.

Mrs. Emma Lard Longan: Born in Liberty, Missouri, May 10, 1854; died in Kansas City, Missouri, April 30, 1924. She was a graduate of Hamilton College, in Lexington, Kentucky. In 1870 she came to Kansas City, where she became prominent in woman's suffrage work. Her book, "Parliamentary Law Made Easy," has enjoyed extensive popularity. Mrs. Longan was one of the first members of the Kansas City chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. For several terms she served as president of the Council of Women's Clubs; and was president of the Christian Women's Board of Missions, of the Christian Church, and of many other religious organizations. In 1922 she was elected to the upper house of the city council, being the first woman to sit in that body.

John I. Martin: Died in St. Louis, Missouri, August 3, 1923, at the age of 75. Mr. Martin had practiced law ever since his admission to the bar in 1876 and was still actively engaged at the time of his death. He served several terms in the state legislature, representing St. Louis. For twenty-five consecutive years he was sergeant-at-arms in the Democratic National Conventions.

James H. Parker: Born in Virginia, November 9, 1836; died in Warrensburg, Missouri, October 24, 1923. He came as a young man to Lafayette county with his parents, and there grew to manhood. During the Civil War he fought in the Confederate Army. He served as a member of the state legislature in 1895-96, and of the Board of the State School for the Deaf at Fulton later. He received his education in the public schools and in the Masonic College at Lexington.

John T. Perry: Born in Anderson county, Kentucky; died in Shelbyville, Missouri, August 29, 1923, at the age of 74. He grew to manhood in Kentucky and taught school there from 1867-72. He then came to Missouri and taught in the schools of Shelby county for several years. In 1880 he was elected judge of the county court, serving six years; and in 1886 was elected county clerk, in which office he remained for three terms, during which time he studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1898 and later served Shelby county in the state legislature two terms.

Thomas N. Rigney: Born in Albany, Missouri, March 29, 1860; died there April 12, 1924. He was educated in the public schools and Albany High School. For two terms he served as judge from the Second district, also as presiding judge of the county court for two terms. In the Fifty-second General Assembly he was chairman of the Committee of Justices of Peace, and was a member of the following committees: Official Salaries and Fees; Swamp Lands, Drainage and Levees; Ways and Means.

John C. Roberts: Born in Readyville, Tennessee; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 27, 1924, at the age of 70. He came to St. Louis as a young man, and engaged in business there, later organizing the International Shoe Company, of which he was vice-president at the time of his death. For twenty-five years he was active in Democratic politics. He was owner of the St. Louis *Star*.

W. B. Rogers: Died March 22, 1924, in Trenton, Missouri, at the age of 89 years. He came to Missouri in 1856, taught school, and was a member of the faculty of the old Grand River College at Edinburg. He served as a captain in the Union Army during the Civil War. After the war he returned to Missouri and purchased the Grand River *Republican* in 1869. His paper went through several consolidations and is now the Trenton *Republican and Tribune*. He served as state senator from the Fourth District for four years.

Roderick E. Rombauer: Born in Hungary; died in St. Louis, Missouri, March 26, 1924, at the age of 91. He came with his parents to America and to Iowa in 1850, his father being an exile from Hungary following the unsuccessful revolution of Louis Kossuth in 1848-49. He began the study of law in an office in Quincy, Illinois, and later took a law course at Harvard University. He located at St. Louis, and during the Civil War served in the first volunteer regiment from that city, later being captain of a home guard unit in south Missouri. In 1863 he was elected judge of the Law Commissioner's Court of St. Louis county, and in 1867 was made judge of the circuit court. In 1884 he was elected judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals, serving twelve years in this capacity. He then kept up a private practice of law until he was more than 80 years old, when he retired.

George H. Shields: Born in Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1842; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 27, 1924. He came to Missouri at an early age, and received his education from the private schools of Hannibal and from Westminster College. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875; and a leader in the Republican party of the state. Under President Harrison he was assistant attorney-general. He also served as circuit judge in St. Louis. At various times he was a captain in the Fifty-third regiment of enrolled Missouri militia. He was city attorney of Hannibal, representative in the state legislature from Marion county; a member and, for four years president, of the Missouri Society, Sons of the American Revolution; and a member of the Frank P. Blair Post, G. A. R.

Krat Cecil Spence: Born in Norris City, Illinois, February 12, 1871; died in Stoddard county, Missouri, September 4, 1923. He came to Stoddard county in 1895, studied law there, and was admitted to the bar. He was first elected prosecuting attorney in 1900 and re-elected in 1902. In 1904 he was elected representative in the state legislature from his county, and he served in this office for three terms. At the time of his death he was prosecuting attorney, having been returned to that office again in 1922.

John A. Talty: Born in Moline, Illinois; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 24, 1924, at the age of 63. He came to Missouri in 1880 and rose to prominence in Republican politics. In 1896 he was made circuit judge. After serving in that capacity he ran for the mayoralty of St. Louis in 1905, but was defeated. Since that time he had practiced law in St. Louis.

John Van Brunt: Died March 5, 1924, in Kansas City, Missouri, at the age of 70. His home was at Westerfeldt Orchards, Belton, Missouri. Mr. Van Brunt came to Kansas City from Englewood, New Jersey, more than forty years ago, and since that time has been instrumental in the architectural development of the city. In 1918 he was called upon by the United States Shipping Board to serve as technical adviser for the Sixth District. He was also head of the Architectural Advisory Board for the Missouri State Capitol. He was emeritus member of the Architectural League of Kansas City and a member of The State Historical Society of Missouri.

Thomas J. Whitehead: Born near Marysville, Kansas, January 1, 1865; died in St. Joseph, Missouri, January 7, 1924. He received his education in the Marysville schools. He was made deputy comptroller of St. Joseph in 1922, and also served as a representative to the Fifty-first General Assembly.

Samuel L. Woodward: Died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 17, 1924, at the age of 83. Brigadier-General Woodward had served in the United States Army for forty years previous to his retirement in 1904. He first enlisted in the Sixth Illinois Cavalry as a private and was mustered out as a major. He then entered the regular army as a second lieutenant in the Tenth Cavalry in 1867 and served in the Indian campaigns. Since then he has held the positions of: major in the First Cavalry in 1900; lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Cavalry in 1903; and brigadier-general in 1904. He was a member of the Ransom Post, G. A. R.; the Loyal Legion; and was commander of the Legion in 1909.

Alexander Young: Born in Bath county, Kentucky, in 1845; died in St. Louis, Missouri, May 17, 1924. He came to Missouri and attended the University of Missouri with the view of entering the legal profession. He taught school in St. Joseph and read law in the office of former Judge Silas Woodson. In 1867 he was admitted to the bar and remained in Woodson's office until the latter's election as governor of the state. He was later the law partner of both B. Gratz Brown and Charles P. Johnson. He continued his practice in St. Louis until six years ago, when he retired.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXT BOOKS

LEGEND OF FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENT IN MISSOURI IN 1700 PROVED

TRUE BY RECORDS.

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 24, 1924.

On the north bank of the mouth of the River Des Peres once stood the village of Tamaroa, the first white settlement in Missouri. Established in 1700, its population consisting mainly of Indians who had adopted the Christian faith, it remained but three years, when its people moved to a point 60 miles south on the Illinois side.

Today the site is a part of the City of St. Louis and there is no physical evidence to indicate the spot where the village once stood, but the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., of St. Louis University, last night submitted to the Missouri Historical Society evidence to indicate Tamaroa as the earliest white settlement in Missouri. His findings have been accepted by the society as authoritative.

The people of Tamaroa were principally Indians of the Kaskaskia tribe, converted by the Jesuit Father Marquette on the Illinois River. They came to the River Des Peres site in 1700, where they were joined by French from Cahokia across the river, and the Tamaroa Indians of that district, from which tribe the village took its name.

In Quebec last year, Father Garraghan saw the record of the death of Father Frances Pinet, Jesuit missionary, at Tamaroa on August 1, 1702, the first death recorded in Missouri. He also saw letters from Father Bergier, priest at Cahokia, written to the Bishop at Quebec, in which he spoke of trips to Tamaroa and told of officiating at the funeral of Father Pinet.

The letters of Father Bergier are the only conclusive evidence of the existence of Tamaroa, Father Garraghan says, with the exceptions of De Lisles map, made in about the year 1705, which marks a village at this point.

No reason for the exodus of the people of Tamaroa has ever been found, and the evidence available indicates the population was about 1200. The Des Peres, it is believed, was named before their arrival, by Jesuit missionaries. It means "The River of the Fathers."

Heretofore Ste. Genevieve has been considered the oldest settlement in Missouri, but tradition has always spoken of a village on the Des Peres. Ste. Genevieve, which was founded about 1745 (1732-1745), still remains the oldest permanent settlement.

CHARLES GRASTY AND THE MEXICO INTELLIGENCER.

From the *Kansas City Star*, February 15, 1924.

The Sturgeon Leader claims that the *Mexico Intelligencer* really gave Charles Grasty, internationally known journalist who died recently, his real start in his profession, and that Missouri can, therefore, claim him as her own. *The Leader* recalls the day in 1880 when Grasty, then a young man, was crossing the courthouse square in Mexico and passed Col. John E. Hutton, owner of the *Intelligencer*. Hutton turned back and called young Grasty, offering him a job, which Grasty accepted, and which started him, that day, on his career.

MAJOR WILLIAM GILPIN AND HIS THEORY OF POPULATION CENTERS.

From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, April 13, 1924.

To be the father of two towns, although neither of them exists today, certainly is distinction enough to keep the name of any man alive in history.

Major William Gilpin has this distinction in addition to many other bids for fame. One of the towns he sponsored died in its infancy to be revived later as a suburb of the city which sprang up and flourished in its stead. That town was Centropolis, which now forms a part of Kansas City.

The other town which Gilpin believed would be a metropolis of this nation was called Gilpin Town and its site was on the Missouri river directly north of Independence, Missouri.

When the pioneers of Kansas City were laying out the metes and bounds of the city which they named the "City of Kansas," at that time a little, insignificant village with very little prospect of being anything else, Major William Gilpin, who participated in the simple ceremonies of the occasion, protested against the restricted limits that took in a few small farms, small clearings and some virgin woodland.

He wanted to include Westport, far out to the south, and Independence still farther off to the east. He said:

"Gentlemen, you are going to have a great city here. Lay your foundations for a metropolis, take in Westport and Independence and all that intervenes. Your city will occupy it all." And he made a map of the city as he saw it in the future and named it Centropolis. * * * *

* Major Gilpin's prediction was based on scientific deduction. With him it was a mathematical demonstration. So sure was he of the accuracy of his calculations he declared emphatically that the great continental city would arise here. * * * * *

Gilpin was a brilliant and versatile man, and soon after he returned to Independence after his Indian campaign he entered upon yet another career, that of author. And it was during this time that he developed his new system of geography, whereby he located scientifically the centers of population, both in ancient and modern times. It was this theory that enabled him to designate the future great central city. * * * *

Of the local application of his theory he says:

"As the site for a great central metropolitan city, the "Basin of the Mississippi" to arise prospectively upon the development now maturing, Kansas City, at the mouth of the Kansas river, has the start, having the geographical position and the existing elements with which the rival will contend in vain.

"There must be a great city here such as antiquity built at the head of the Mediterranean and named Jerusalem, Tyre, Alexandria, and Constantinople; such as our own people name New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, and St. Louis."

It was a sensational chapter in the history of Kansas City. Major Gilpin found inflammable material for his purpose at Independence. He was an enthusiast in any cause that he espoused. He believed that he had made as great a discovery in the economic world as Isaac Newton made in the physical world when he saw the apple fall.

Gilpin announced his discovery of the Isothermal zone with such conviction that he impressed others with the truth of his theory. He explained to the people of Independence that their town occupied the site of the future great city, and he enforced his argument with such warmth and confidence as to secure the adherence of the entire populace. The city council was very much taken with Gilpin's theory, and at his instigation an ordinance was passed to extend the limits of the village to the Missouri river, a distance of four or five miles. That was the foundation of Gilpin Town. So carried away were the people with the idea, that they enthusiastically planned to begin to build the great central city without delay. * * * * *

When everything was fully prepared and ready to begin building the city, the discovery was made that nobody had any money with which to start. * * * * * Nobody seemed to question his (Gilpin's) ability and he was sent to Washington and to New York to obtain the necessary capital.

But Gilpin was delayed. * * * * *

After waiting for what seemed an unusually long time, patience finally died, and confidence in the theorist utterly perished. Some even went to court and demanded a settlement of the affairs of the company.

* * * * * But Gilpin came back in time and took care of his obligations. He was an honest man, but he had failed to interest eastern capital in his rather gigantic, and in many ways quixotic, undertaking, and thus it was necessary to bring the project to a close.

But even after his failure Gilpin still had confidence in his theory. After his efforts to construct a city at Independence had proved unsuccessful, he asserted that he had missed the real site of the city by ten miles, and in his next map he included both Independence and Kansas City as parts of his metropolis.

MISSOURI'S CONFEDERATE CAPITAL.

Reprinted from the *Neosho Times* in the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*,
February 16, 1900.

During the Civil War, Neosho, Missouri, was the scene of many stirring events. Situated on the line between the North and the South, it would one day be in the hands of the Federal force and next in the hands of the Confederate. It was here that the seceders met, and on October 21, 1861, in the old Masonic building, which is still standing, signed the articles of secession. The body was composed of the deposed Governor Jackson and thirty-nine members of the Confederate wing of the house, and ten members of the senate, and the following is the title of the bill passed:

"An act declaring the ties heretofore existing between the United States and the State of Missouri dissolved."

During the consideration of this measure the town was defended by Price's army, which was stationed on the hilltops surrounding the place. The only dissenting votes to the passage of the bill were those of Charles H. Hardin in the senate and Isaac N. Shambaugh in the house. The passage of the act was greeted with applause and the roaring of cannon of Price's command.

The old building has been removed from its original site to give place to the city's growth, but it still stands in a fair state of preservation, and is an object of much interest to strangers who visit the town.

WHEN ABE LINCOLN VISITED MISSOURI.

From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, February 10, 1924.

Abraham Lincoln visited Missouri in the winter of 1859. He came across the state from Quincy, Illinois, to St. Joseph, on the old Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, which had just been completed across the state—the only railroad west of the Mississippi river.

The object of his coming was to visit "Bleeding Kansas," where John Brown and his followers had kindled a flame of patriotism that was destined to revolutionize the world. Lincoln spent an hour in St. Joseph while waiting for a carriage which was to take him over to Elwood, where he was to make a speech and be entertained at the old hotel, which was the headquarters of the Kansas politicians and the terminus of western civilization.

From there he was accompanied by the leading politicians—men who were destined to have a big part in the forming of the new Republican party—men who were to help build a new empire in the West. They went to Atchison where the future president made one of his characteristic speeches of that day and time. The elder D. R. Anthony made the remark at that time that "this nation would hear from Lincoln."

Lincoln had a local reputation at his home at Springfield, Illinois, where he had gained fame as a local attorney. On his return trip from

Kansas he again stopped a short time in St. Joseph. He dropped into the barbershop of the old Edgar house, corner Main and Francis streets, where he was shaved. Old timers recall seeing him—tall, gaunt, raw-boned, standing more than six feet, wearing boots, a badly wrinkled Prince Albert coat, and the big shawl and stove-pipe hat. This old hotel was the first three-story brick building erected in St. Joseph and is still standing.

As a news-item, the *Gazette* said:

"Abe Lincoln, a lawyer of Springfield, Illinois, was in St. Joseph a short time yesterday afternoon."

This goes to show what a comparatively unknown quantity Lincoln was at that time.

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